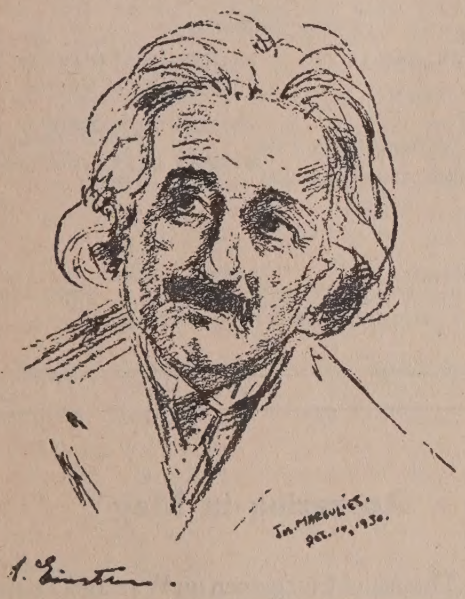
The World Tomorrow

APRIL, 1931



EINSTEIN AS WAR RESISTER

H. C. ENGELBRECHT

Education in Action
The Story of John Dewey

Intellectuals and Tainted Money
JEROME DAVIS

Editorials on

The Passing of the New York *World*
Gandhi and Lord Irwin
The Progressives in Washington
The Franco-Italian Naval Agreement
Wisconsin's Experimental College

TWENTY-FIVE CENTS A COPY TWO DOLLARS A YEAR

The World Tomorrow

VOL. XIV APRIL, 1931 No. 4

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Twenty Thousand Clergymen on War and Peace—
An analysis of their replies to eight questions concerning the League of Nations, military training, armed intervention, the chaplaincy, pacifism, etc.

Money Menaces World Peace
Reinhold Niebuhr

The Present War in Europe
Devere Allen

Bernhardi Becomes Chief of Staff
Harold E. Fey

Saving My Reputation
Halford E. Luccock

The World Tomorrow

A Journal Looking Toward a Social Order Based on the Religion of Jesus

Vol. XIV April, 1931 No. 4

Editorials

The Gathering of the Progressives

The conference of progressives in Washington made an excellent analysis of the ills of the nation, but it proved itself, as is frequently the case, more adept at diagnosis than in prescribing a cure. If the Government of the United States is really under the control of a favored ten per cent while the great majority fail to have their rights respected, as Senator Borah intimated, one might draw the conclusion that a heroic step is required to rescue the nation from the hands of the privileged. But nothing more heroic proceded from the conference than Senator Norris's practical demand upon the Democratic Party to nominate a liberal. This demand and the implied promise of progressive support for such a candidate will probably have the effect of booming the Franklin Roosevelt stock; it may actually result in the nomination of the Governor of New York. If that is Senator Norris's idea of saving the nation, he is even less realistic than we suspected. Surely he must know that the Democratic Party will not be made over into an instrument of genuine liberalism as easily as that. The recent capitulation of Senator Robinson on the drought relief issue is but one of many proofs of the essential conservatism of the Democratic Party. Senator Norris justifies his policy by the observation that a third party would have no chance of winning the next election. Of course not. But fifty members of a new party in Congress would do more to change the politics of this country than will a mildly liberal Democratic President, operating with a party still weighted with Southern Bourbons in all the influential committee positions. And even if the immediate gain were not great, a new party would be in the making. This business of determining all political policies in terms of the next Presidential election is retarding the political progress of our country. Nothing less than a new party will be adequate for the defense of oppressed multitudes of whom Senator Borah spoke so eloquently. If progressive leaders in office today cannot recognize that fact, they will retard but they will not prevent the final reorganization of American political life.

The real difficulty with the progressives is that they are not yet sufficiently aware of the economic basis of political action. Senator Norris, who is undoubtedly one of the most honest men in American public life, seems to think that the election of upright men who will stand against the power trust will solve all our problems. We need honest men, no doubt, but even more we need political representatives directly responsible to the disinherited classes and to no one elese. There are not enough Senator Norrises to redeem politics according to his formula. For all of Senator Norris's great contribution to American statesmanship, he does not understand our desperate political situation. If he did, he would offer something more vital than the election of a slightly liberal Democratic President.

The Hand of a Dead Man

It is hardly necessary to add our lamentations to the mournful chorus which rose at the passing of the New York *World*. It is always unfortunate to lose an organ of liberalism, and the *World* was for decades the bellwether of liberal journalism in America. Its devotion to unpopular causes, however, was not so constant in late years and its editorial policy was less vigorous than formerly; and grief over its death may be assuaged by the fact that it has been taken over by a newspaper chain which represents the most radical force in contemporary journalism.

What interests us more particularly about the passing of the *World* is the valiant effort of its staff to keep the paper alive, and the fact that it was the dead hand of the past which really destroyed it. The heroic endeavor of the *World* staff to perpetuate the newspaper, after the owners had negotiated its sale without giving the employees any knowledge of their intentions, throws the whole ethic of modern business into bold relief. Newspapers are more than just property. They are living organisms, given the breath of life by the coöperative labors of multitudes of people. To treat such an organism as a piece of property and to terminate its life without fore-warning those who must die with its death is a kind of blasphemy. Economic necessity may have dictated such a course, since the assets of a newspaper deteriorate very rapidly once its end is apparent, but every human value is outraged by such a course. The nation-wide support which the fran-

tic effort of the employees to keep the paper alive won from friends in every part of the land is proof of a genuine interest in the coöperative principle among at least a minority of our population.

The other interesting fact about the passing of the *World* is that its years of declining health were partly due to a portion of the Pulitzer will in which the youngest son who had least experience in newspaper work was given the bulk of the estate. He seems to have been favored by his father chiefly because he was too young ever to have crossed the parental will, while the older brothers, in charge of the property while their father sailed the seven seas, were frequently under the necessity of disregarding his capricious orders cabled from every port of the world. Thus the caprice and resentment of a dead man introduced an element into fraternal coöperation which was bound to affect the efficiency and morale of a great organization. Joseph Pulitzer tried to perpetuate the *World* by the power of a testament, but the same testament provided for the seed of death in what he willed to keep alive. His will, exerted beyond the grave, was not powerful enough to perpetuate what was already dying, and it may be questioned whether he or anyone else should have the right to restrain the conduct of future generations. The power of testation is much too absolute in modern society. A new social order which undertakes the task of circumscribing private property will have to begin at this point and restrict the power of testation. It is the weakest point in the whole scheme of private property.

The Franco-Italian Naval Accord

While the naval agreement between Italy and France justifies no unrestrained optimism, it is to be welcomed for two reasons. It obviates the necessity of making use of the so-called escalator clause in the London naval treaty which would have permitted England and in turn the United States to increase their naval tonnage in the event of undue enlargements of the French and Italian navies. It has also allayed some of the friction between Italy and France which was rapidly assuming proportions that imperilled the peace of Europe. Even though these two countries are not likely to be good friends for years to come and some of their difficulties will no doubt be aired in 1936 when the present agreement expires, nevertheless there is a real gain for peace in the present accord. The agreement gives France a supremacy in tonnage of 229,000 tons; but the Italians are consoled with the knowledge that 84,000 tons of French ships will be obsolete in 1936, thus netting the French a real advantage of 150,000 tons. This brings the Italian fleet much closer to parity with the French than it is at the present time. On the whole, the Italians gained most from the agreement, for they not only increased their comparative nav strength but they secured important loans fro French bankers. The financial part of the arrang ment was not written into the agreement, but it w obviously closely related to it. Without the n naval accord no capital would have been forthcomin The net effect of the treaty is that Europe's uncerta peace will be guaranteed against an open rupture one particular point for a period of six years. In t present condition of world affairs any postponeme of issues may be a contribution to their solutio Many things can happen in a period of six yea which will mitigate the animosities that gave rise the present problem. On the other hand, the po ponement of the problem is no guarantee of its sol tion. The state of mind in Europe is an uneasy on and something more than a patched-up truce betwe warring camps is necessary for the attainment of las ing amity.

Muscle Shoals

President Hoover's veto of the Muscle Shoals Bi which passed Congress after ten years of parliamenta wrangling and which would have offered the oppo tunity for constructive use of national property, is clear revelation of his unyielding conservatism in t matter of government ownership of power sites. Th is the issue which will become increasingly the centr point of contention between the progressive and t conservative forces in American life. If society is to co trol its natural resources and prevent their exploitatic by private individuals, it is only natural that it shoul initiate such a policy at the point where the resourc have not yet been alienated. How to reëstablish publ control over resources such as coal and lumber whic have already been alienated is a problem in itself. B the more urgent and immediate question is how t prevent water power from falling into the hands c private capital. Once private interests achieve veste rights in public treasures, the whole machinery of la is brought into play to perpetuate their special priv leges. The President has again thrown down th gauntlet to all who are trying desperately to prever the diverting into private channels of public resource His plea that the state has no business to compete wit its own citizens is the same argument which was use by reactionaries to prevent the institution of the parc post system and the savings department of the Po Office. His engineering arguments against the plan c government operation amount simply to the dogm that the state can never be efficient in the conduct c any business. There is a good reason to fear the ine ficiency of bureaucracies, but the vaunted efficiency c private enterprise with its competitive waste and ex travagence in sales methods is not so much a fact as pet illusion of our commercial world. Hoover

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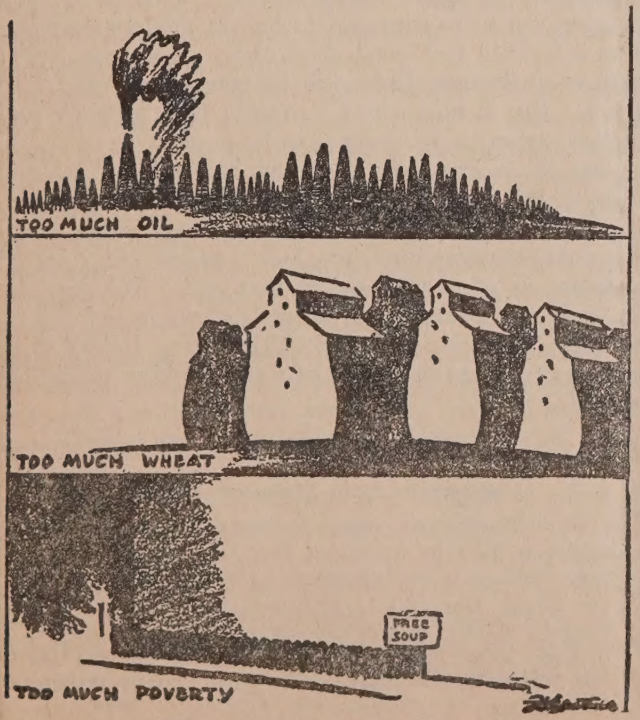
merely the mouthpiece of a dying world, and the fact that he should clothe its dogmas and illusions in the nice phrases of an engineer is significant only in the sense that the old order is still able to achieve rationalizations of its prejudices in terms of sufficient scientific respectability to give them power beyond their day.

Battleships Versus Bread

The Red Cross announces that at the end of February two million persons were receiving aid in twenty-one drought states. More than one-third of a million families, perhaps a million and a half individuals, were receiving free food. The officials of the Red Cross also express appreciation that the goal of $10,000,000 for relief purposes has been reached.

It will be recalled that President Hoover vigorously objected to Federal appropriations for the purpose of feeding drought sufferers on the ground that voluntary relief is "the American way" and that the Red Cross is amply able to handle such a situation. For political reasons a determined effort has been made to minimize the seriousness of the calamity. Even in its latest report the Red Cross says "no reports have thus far reached Washington of serious impairment of health because of malnutrition among either adults or children." Two million persons receiving aid; a ten-million-dollar Red Cross fund voluntarily raised; no Federal assistance required; no serious impairment of health—because relief to the extent of an average of five dollars per person is available!



"What do you make of it, Watson?"

All the while vast quantities of grain are being stored in this country. Many wheat farmers are nearly bankrupt because too much grain has been produced. The prospect of Russian wheat being thrown on the world market in increasing quantities is causing consternation. In all corners of the earth millions are crying for bread, yet the production of more grain is regarded with extreme alarm!

Ten billion dollars were appropriated for various purposes by the dying Congress. The Army and Navy were beneficiaries to the tune of more than 700 millions. The chairman of the Senate Committee on Naval Affairs cheerfully prophesies that the next Congress will take steps to bring the Navy up to the treaty limit. Such a procedure would require about a billion dollars additional. Millions for cruisers, but not a Federal cent for food! Which reminds us of the classic reply from an inmate of a lunatic asylum: "I'm not crazy, I'm Napoleon!"

Everybody Wins

The news from India is almost unbelievably encouraging. Lord Irwin has won a notable victory. Even greater is the triumph of Mahatma Gandhi. The deadlock has been broken, and a pacific settlement of the problem of India's status now seems possible.

The Viceroy deserves the warmest possible praise for his courageous and conciliatory attitude. It is difficult for Americans to realize the intensity of the opposition on the part of many members of the Indian Civil Service, as well as within the ranks of his own Conservative Party at home, with which Lord Irwin has had to deal. The idea of an equal status for India within the near future has been almost unthinkable to many Englishmen. The opinion expressed by Lord Roberts years ago that "however educated and clever a native may be, and however brave he may have proved himself, no rank which we can bestow upon him would cause him to be considered as an equal by the British officer," still represents the attitude of many British officers and is widely prevalent in all realms of British officialdom in India. A former cabinet colleague refers to Lord Irwin's conferences with a "seditious, half-naked fakir" as "nauseating." The extreme bitterness against Gandhi found in some quarters is illustrated in a stanza from a poem published with a monstrous cartoon in a recent issue of an English magazine, *Truth*:

> Great Soul! Who put'st on saintly airs
> While bursting with malignant spite!
> What carest thou how India fares,
> Great Soul, yet greater hypocrite?

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Even H. G. Wells, says: "Gandhi is a great holy man, the victim of a hot climate, who sits in meditation and conjures up methods to rouse the emotions of his nation. He has capitalized his inferiority com-

plex and that of his three hundred million fellow-countrymen." *The Daily Mail* complains of the mischief done through "the sentimental weakness of Lord Irwin" in consenting to "prolonged and humiliating confabulations with Gandhi, that convicted criminal and avowed enemy of the British Empire." When an announcement of the truce was made in the House of Commons there were prolonged cheers from Laborites and Liberals, but "from the Conservative benches, however, there was nothing but stony silence. . . . Mr. Baldwin fidgeted in his chair, passed his hand over his face and kept his lips shut. Sir Austen Chamberlain, next to him, sat impassively with his top-hat pulled down over his eyes and his feet on a clerk's table."

The odds against the Viceroy were colossal and his action in releasing Gandhi from jail and having frequent and prolonged discussions with him represents courage of a high order. Lord Irwin has not only earned an immortal place in the annals of British statesmen but in all probability has saved India for the Commonwealth. If negotiations had broken down, Gandhi and his colleagues again imprisoned, the civil disobedience campaign continued and intensified by widespread refusal to pay taxes and the burning of British cloth, the flames of Indian nationalism would probably have been fanned to the degree where nothing short of independence and separation would have been accepted. Ramsay MacDonald also deserves the highest commendation for his skill as a negotiator at the Round Table Conference.

The Mahatma, however, has overcome still more titanic odds. When he started on his famous march to the sea a year ago, few Englishmen or Americans thought he would quickly win the right for Indians living on the sea to make their own salt. The significance of this concession is far greater than appears on the surface. Gandhi selected the salt monopoly and salt tax as a symbol—a symbol of his determination to overthrow the British system in India. Instead of advocating civil disobedience in general terms, he dramatized the issue in terms of salt—and won! The loss of "prestige" has caused great grief within the ranks of British officials, whereas the salt victory has enormously enhanced the morals of Gandhi's followers. Political prisoners are being released, the emergency repressive ordinances are being withdrawn, fines are being remitted if still uncollected, confiscated immovable property is being returned, and a compromise has been reached with regard to movable property, persons discharged from official positions because of civil disobedience will in some cases be restored to their previous positions, and peaceful picketing against foreign cloth and intoxicating liquors is to be permitted. Because he became convinced that the policy of insisting upon an investigation of police brutalities would lead to counter-charges and create an unfavorable atmosphere, Gandhi abandoned this demand.

What is to be the future status of India? To what has Gandhi agreed in the terms of the truce? It is highly important that we understand that no definite and detailed commitment has been made. The Congressmen agree to participate in another round-table conference where it will be taken for granted that the goal is constitutional government along the line of a federation. Furthermore, Gandhi has admitted that temporary safeguards are necessary in the realms of defense, foreign affairs, minorities, and finance.

Gandhi has *not* abandoned his demand for independence. He now believes it can be won by participating in the forthcoming gathering. When asked if it would be consistent with the terms of the truce for the next session of the Congress at Karachi to reaffirm the policy of complete independence, Gandhi replied. "Most certainly indeed. Indeed, there is nothing to prevent the Congress from going further and adopting the same policy when it joins the round table conference. *Purna swaraj* only implies complete independence because popular imagination in this country can never reconcile itself to the idea of a British statesman making a *bona fide* offer of equality. . . . I must confess that what seems to have been yielded by them to India at the London Conference is not even half enough."

The tide is moving irresistably toward freedom for India. The new Viceroy, Earl Willingdon, a few days ago prophesied that the future status of India will be that of "an absolutely equal partner with the other dominions under the British crown." Such a status constitutes complete independence. There are high barriers yet to be surmounted before the new constitution is written and enacted into law. And after India secures autonomy, there will be many deep valleys to cross. But it now seems probable that a pacific and orderly transfer of power can be made.

Gandhi is not only the most beloved and adored saint of this age, he is also a supremely practical statesman. His goal is the same passion for freedom which has always inspired patriots, but he has utterly rejected violence as a means toward that end. Without the instruments of warfare or symbols of pomp and power, by sheer dominance of spiritual influence, India's saint appears to be on the verge of accomplishing a political miracle.

Cablegram from Mahatma Gandhi

". . . Nothing on important issues you mention was settled or could be settled but door kept open for raising these questions. Congress enters conference with determination to gain these points. Settlement is provisional and if Congress position cannot be reached through conference Congress might have to readopt method of suffering and civil disobedience."—(Received by John Haynes Holmes, New York.)

Ten Years of Brookwood

It is fitting that the opening dinner celebrating the tenth anniversary of the establishment of Brookwood Labor College at Katonah, New York, should have served concurrently as a testimonial of appreciation to A. J. Muste and a drive to extend progressive workers' education throughout the country.

No one has done more for American labor education than has Mr. Muste, and his decade as chairman of the faculty at Brookwood is but a chapter in a life of steadfast service to the workers' cause. Handicapped by inadequate financial support and by sabotage on the part of the reactionary elements in the A. F. of L., Mr. Muste has labored unceasingly to make Brookwood the center of progressive labor education and a vital force in the American labor scene. To the liberal cause in general he has rendered equally valiant service. He is a contributing editor of *Labor Age* and THE WORLD TOMORROW, and his pen is frequently utilized in behalf of wider social issues. We join the other friends of Brookwood in wishing for it many more decades of Dr. Muste's courageous and intelligent leadership.

The Wisconsin Experiment

The conservatives in education were only too ready to lift their voices in we-told-you-so hosannas when an Associated Press despatch announced that Dr. Alexander Meiklejohn was discontinuing the Experimental College at the University of Wisconsin. Fortunately the statement proved to be incorrect; the experiment has not been actually terminated. Instead, it is being suspended for such time as may be necessary for those in charge to take an inventory.

Under the plan of the Experimental College, which was established in 1926, a small group of selected students were given the opportunity during their freshman and sophomore years of pursuing a course entirely different from the traditional curriculum. In a peculiarly personal, Mark-Hopkins-and-the-log fashion they were permitted, under the guidance of Professor Meiklejohn and men of similar calibre, to concentrate on an entire civilization—Greek one year, contemporary American the other—instead of capsule courses in French, rhetoric, mathematics, philosophy and what not. At the end of two years they were admitted to junior rank on a basis equal to that of all other students.

Professor Meiklejohn was wise enough to stipulate in the beginning that the project be kept flexible and elastic. The five-year period of the college having now been completed, he feels that a moratorium should be declared for the purpose of assessing results. The Advisors of the Experimental College are preparing a report which will be submitted for consideration to the Faculty of Letters and Science.

One of the chief difficulties confronting the directors of the Experimental College is that their project has attracted a high percentage of out-of-state students. This situation has brought financial obstacles in its train, for it is obviously not easy to persuade a none too tractable legislature to appropriate funds for a department which chiefly serves students from other states. Moreover, as in the case of any departure from the accepted norm, there are those who have questioned and criticized the project, some sincerely, others merely because of its novelty. It is to Dr. Meiklejohn's credit that he is meeting these doubters on their own ground. In the spirit of a true scientist he is willing to pause, after having given the experiment a fair trial, in order to take stock of what has been accomplished and use the evidence as a guide for future policy. This procedure is in thorough accord with the tolerant and dispassionate temper that has always characterized Professor Meiklejohn and his work, and it is to be hoped that the results of the investigation will warrant his continuing the college. To both the University of Wisconsin and the nation at large the retirement of Dr. Meiklejohn would be an irreparable loss. American education has had too few such distinguished pioneers who, in the spirit of the Pestalozzis, Herbarts, and Rousseaus of the past, have borne aloft the torch of truth and freedom.

Commercial Failures Break Record

The year 1930 was the worst for two-thirds of a century, as far as business insolvencies were concerned. R. G. Dun and Company reports 26,355 mercantile failures in the United States, with a total indebtedness of $668,283,842. In addition there were 934 bank failures, with liabilities of $908,157,788. That is to say, there were on the average 75 commercial and financial crashes every day of the year.

Insecurity is one of the most devastating scourges of capitalism. Between five and seven million workers are now unable to find employment. The approach of old age is a nightmare in countless homes, since many industries are now refusing to hire men and women after they reach 45 or 50 years of age. Business men with small capital are facing heavier and heavier risks. All of the 26,355 commercial failures last year, except 447, were below the $100,000 scale. Likewise, there were less than a score of big bank failures. Chain stores, mergers, and various forms of combination are rolling relentlessly on. Only on the topmost level of financial and industrial consolidation is comparative security to be found. Some of these days the workers, the farmers, the small business men, and the technicians—all those who keep the wheels of industry and business moving—are going to wake up to the fact that for them capitalism is a wholly unsatisfactory system.

Einstein as War Resister

H. C. ENGELBRECHT

EINSTEIN has come and gone. In December he made his rather bewildered appearance in New York, and early in March he left these shores on his homeward trip. Einstein may be the greatest scientist of our day, or merely a "poet of science" dreaming audacious dreams about the universe. Of one thing, however, there can be no doubt —he is an uncompromising war resister.

This is not exactly news to anyone in touch with the peace movement. Liberal and pacifist journals have frequently had occasion to chronicle his unwavering opposition to all wars. An excellent illustration is furnished by the following:

> This subject brings me to that vilest offspring of the herd mind —the odious militia. The man who enjoys marching in line and file to the strains of music falls below my contempt; he received his great brain by mistake—the spinal cord would have been amply sufficient. This heroism at command, this senseless violence, this accursed bombast of patriotism—how intensely I despise them! War is low and despicable, and I had rather be smitten to shreds than participate in such things.

The gratifying thing is that here in America he did not "observe a judicious silence." Quite the contrary. From the time he arrived, to the time the gang-plank was pulled up on the *Deutschland*, he frankly declared his pacifism and encouraged others to follow him.

AMERICAN newspapers generally rush into print whenever a "famous" person speaks. Let John D. Rockefeller, Sr., give a shining new dime to his caddie with a caution not to spend it all in one place but to lay the foundation of a great fortune with it, and the newspapers will report it on the front page. Let Ford give advice on labor problems—a field in which he apparently knows only harsher and more exacting methods of human slavery—and the press proclaims the new prophet. Let Edison issue a so-called intelligence test, or give his opinion on any or all problems of the day, or let Charlie Schwab radiate optimism about business, and the press works over time to broadcast this "important" information to the world.

But when Einstein defies the conventions, denounces the militarists, associates gladly with pacifists, and shouts his belief in war resistance from the housetops, that apparently is not news "that's fit to print." Reporters, to be sure, ask for the speeches he delivers, but what they write finds a place on page 13 where they comment on the "great scientist." Only Einstein's first pacifist blasts received brief notice in the papers. That evidently was sufficient, for the American Legion commander in California publicly proclaimed that he would have the pacifist barred from setting foot on the patriotic soil of that Better-American-Federation-owned state. But when the press saw what it had done —actually gone contrary to the American Legion— Einstein forthwith vanished into the obscurity of inner pages.

The New York *Times* did report his Chicago speech —on page 19. The last day in New York, however, was too much for all papers. The "great scientist" could not be neglected. His return to the Atlantic seaboard was reported, but with the exception of a short note regarding the pacifist groups' reception on the day of his sailing, Einstein remained a scientist and a Zionist. Even the *World-Telegram*, in general militantly liberal, deliberately passed over in silence his pacifist speech of March 4th. The *Herald-Tribune* found place only for an editorial on the "distinguished mathematical visitor."

This very editorial, however, is excellent for our purposes. Says the writer:

> It seems to be the peculiar ability of Dr. Einstein that he is able to break through the shackles of conventional thought and re-examine the facts of nature from a freer point of view.

To this should be added: not only the facts of nature, but also the facts of politics and the state, of war and peace.

EINSTEIN had quietly announced that he would be glad to receive his pacifist friends and co-workers on his last day in New York. Accordingly at eleven o'clock about one hundred representatives of different organizations made their appearance on the pier. At twelve the group proceeded to the salon of the *Deutschland* to do honor to the "great pacifist." They saw a rather short man with a beautiful head of greying hair. He radiated intelligence and kindliness. He did not make a fuss at all; and while he appeared at ease, he evidently preferred to be inconspicuous.

After a series of friendly greetings, the scene was set for another declaration by Einstein. Previous to that, however, American ingenuity had a surprise to unfold. Had not Einstein declared in December: "If you can get only two per cent of the population of the world to assert in time of peace that they will not fight, you will have the solution for international troubles. Even so small a proportion as two per cent will accomplish the desired result, for they could not be put in jail. There are not enough jails in the world to accommodate them." Well and good. Here was something that could be symbolized. An inventive mind conceived the idea of making a campaign button with "2%"

inscribed on it. These buttons were distributed to their representatives by the many peace organizations, and Einstein was faced with a group of one hundred per cent two-per-centers! That was not all. Two small "2%" medals, one in gold and one in silver, were presented to Einstein and his wife. The fine smile of appreciation must have been more than sufficient reward to the inventor.

AND now it was Einstein's turn to speak. He spoke in a soft, kindly voice. But there was deep conviction in it. He was not merely reciting his verse, he was deeply concerned with the things he was discussing. He spoke as a man accustomed to dealing with scientific facts, for what he said was as sound to him as any fact in the physical universe. This is what he considers social and moral fact:

> The developments of the last years have again shown how little we are justified in leaving to the governments the fight against armaments and against the military spirit. The events at the latest disarmament conferences have shown that the governments either do not wish, or are not able to bring about disarmament. . . .
>
> I am convinced that the only way is the denial of military service. The trouble with the pacifist movement is that in peace times it is not dramatic enough to attract a great number of people. . . . The fight against military service . . . challenges those who are opposed. It is in this way that we can make the pacifist problem a vital one and that it can become a real fight which will attract strong characters. It is an illegal fight, but a fight for the real rights of the people against their governments when these demand criminal actions from their citizens. . . .
>
> If members of pacifist organizations are not ready to make sacrifices, by opposing authorities in peace time at the risk of imprisonment or worse, they fail because when war is on it is too late. In the war hysteria the multitude will not resist. Only persons steeled can be expected to resist in time of war.

Einstein spoke in German while Madame Rosika Schwimmer, barred from citizenship in this country for her outspoken pacifism, translated his message for the group. There were no wild or record-breaking cheers. This was not a football game or a political convention. The applause that followed was hearty and gave expression to the deep gratification of the group. Here was a man ready to repeat over and again his unconditional opposition to all militarism, even though he might be called a traitor or a coward by war-lords and professional patriots.

BY his sincerity and fearlessness Einstein has greatly encouraged the pacifists of America. A world-famous scientist disdains telling us the hackneyed things about our "sky-scrapers," our "women," our "money-madness," our "regimentation." He takes us seriously and speaks to us about one of the greatest and most pressing problems of the world. His solution is the time-honored method of resistance to wrong, to tyranny, to "criminal actions of governments." Grotius and Locke and Price and Bentham and Fichte and Jefferson and the American colonists would have understood him and would have applauded him. Governments rest on the will of the governed, and resistance to tyranny is not only a right but a duty. But one suspects that this doctrine is heresy and treason to most Americans today. All honor to Einstein, then, for bringing it to the fore and applying it to the "criminal action" of war-making.

But is it practicable? Perhaps the good professor is so pre-occupied with the universe that the little earth and the small affairs of men do not come within his ken. However, figures are figures, and perhaps the thoughtful mathematician has merely deduced a great social fact from natural science. It is an elementary fact of physics that a little lever moves a mass considerably greater than itself. This law applies to social phenomena as well. Great changes are wrought by determined leaders, usually very small in number. The "2%" doctrine is sound social engineering. A very small group, for example, brought about the abolition of slavery. And it seems more than a hope that a determined, uncompromising "Einstein Two-Per-Cent Society" could do exceedingly effective work in abolishing war.

Auf Wiedersehen, Comrade Einstein!

A White Girl's Prayer

I KNEEL in self-contempt, O God—
My Nordic flesh is but a curse;
The black girl loathes to clasp my hand;
She doubts my love because I'm white.
An Oriental shrinks from me,
While flashing Hindu eyes disdain
My pallid cheeks, my Saxon hair,
And Jewess lips rebuke my smile.
Shy "señorita" stares perplexed
When I but praise her basketry.

O bitter age! I'm ostracized
By my own proud Caucasian clan,
Since I among my friends would have
The youths of every race and caste.

O God of Life, remove this curse—
The cords of shame are strangling me;
Remorse is mine. I would atone
For white superiority:
Sheer carnal pride of my own race.
Tonight on bended knee I pray:
Free me from my despised flesh
And make me yellow, bronze . . . or . . . black.

EDNA JOHNSON LONG

Education in Action

*The Story of John Dewey**

EDUCATION is often a tedious, uninspired business. Not a few schools are still places where courses of study, text-books, methods, and teachers, are simply dull. But in one American city after another today, in Germany, in England, notably in Russia, and as far away as China and Japan, a new spirit is astir. For this no one person is wholly responsible; but if any man has done more than others to quicken and enlighten the changed attitude, it is John Dewey. Wherever education calls itself progressive, his name is known and honored, even by those who are not in accord with the philosophy out of which his offerings to the new education were born.

Observers see children in these new schools moving around freely, acting out plays, running stores, wielding paint-brushes, chisels, saws, hammers. One child may be reading a book while three others are discussing a problem assigned to them by their classmates as a committee; still others are busy building a boat. Where is the teacher? Where is the unbroken quiet which once marked teachers as "good disciplinarians"? What has become of the rooms we used to know where boys and girls sat for long hours each at his own desk from which it was crime to move without permission?

About two centuries ago Rousseau dreamed something like this. Another social reformer named Pestalozzi attempted to carry out some of Rousseau's ideas. Then Froebel caught the inspiration and within certain limits applied the thought to children of pre-school age. In America, the Workingman's School, established by the Ethical Culture Society of New York in 1878, took Froebel's principle of free coöperation among the children and carried it up into the grades. Elsewhere in our country, while the public schools were still sunk in the old formalism, here and there progressive schools (chiefly private) were letting in a bit of fresh air.

Then in 1899, under the imprint of the University of Chicago, a little book appeared which is now listed as a classic. *School and Society* told the story of a three years' experiment at the University Elementary School, and set forth the views of one John Dewey, then Professor of Pedagogy. The book gave heart to the discontented; it offered edge and direction to the movement for a modern schooling; it fired the imagination with prospects of close, fruitful linkage between children's school lives and the better life all about them. More than any other single writing, it hastened the pedagogic revolution which we are now witnessing and which still has ample work to perform.

WHAT lies back of the new education? To appreciate Dewey's contribution, it is necessary to consider the man and his philosophy of life. His biography is a record of degrees and other honors conferred, chairs of philosophy occupied, books published and causes espoused—in all of which there is very little front-page stuff for the dailies. He was born in Burlington, Vermont, among the folks whom Dorothy Canfield has interpreted for us in *Hillsboro People*. Theirs are not the homes in which one looks for orators, painters, dramatists, singers, revolutionists. Indeed one of the first impressions these persons create on visitors from New York, is that they must be either very slow-witted or congenitally tongue-tied. Who are the fools, natives of Vermont do not say in public, if at all.

This one of her many distinguished sons still looks shy whenever he gets up to speak. But he has spoken bold words on the unpopular side of public questions. And the list of books which he has written is long and impressive. One reason for the influence he has exerted is suggested in the passage where David Hume pictures Nature as saying to a philosopher: "Let your science be human. . . . Be a philosopher; but, amidst all your philosophy, be still a man." John Dewey meets this requirement eminently. When his seventieth birthday was celebrated in October, 1929, a flood of hearty tribute poured in upon him; and characteristically enough, along with the expressions of respect for his services as a thinker, people dwelt upon a certain genuineness and human brotherhood. In the minds of many there were recollections of unusual kindness. Whether at Michigan, Minnesota, Chicago, or Columbia, no professor was ever more generous to the stray cats that wander in and out of a university campus. That some of these won blue ribbons, is due to his trustful encouragement.

A STRIKING act of respect was accorded to him at a public meeting a few weeks after the birthday celebration. He was to speak at a public meeting in behalf of Norman Thomas, Socialist candidate for Mayor of New York. When he entered to take his seat on the platform, the immense audience rose and applauded with a warmth which left him visibly touched. If tributes still count at his time of life, this honor from plain people meant no less to Dewey than the degrees which great universities in all parts of the world have conferred upon him.

In 1929 he delivered the Gifford lectures at the University of Edinburgh, an honor awarded previously to

* One of a series of sketches of pathfinders to a new society, published anonymously to permit greater frankness. Reproduction limited to 300 words.

William James and Josiah Royce. *The Quest for Certainty,* in which these lectures appear, is a dangerous book. No one observing this retiring thinker would suspect him of being a destroyer. But such he is. He wants to release philosophic thinking from bondage to conceptions framed centuries ago in response to life as understood then, but out of harmony with the new world of the present. Though philosophy is an attempt to grasp the meaning of life as a whole, in the main the business of philosophers has been centered upon a single quest which Dewey regards as barren—the effort to understand the perfect reality back of all the changing appearances in the world. It is, he thinks, a search for a mistaken kind of assurance. Because human life is uncertain, men have sought security in two ways. One is practical, the other religious, or philosophic. The former way tried to get certainty by such arts as farming, hunting, building, weeding, making tools and weapons. This is the method which, by understanding nature in order to use it, has literally revolutionized the conditions of man's living, increased the span of his years, and filled them with satisfactions utterly unknown to earlier times. And yet, remarkably enough, this practical attitude has been held, until recent times, in only slight honor as compared with regard for the beliefs of philosophers about the unchanging, absolute, universal, eternal, reality behind all changing things. Intellect was rated as immeasurably higher than practical knowledge for busying itself in grasping this secret of all secrets.

From an etching by Bernard Sanders

JOHN DEWEY

WITH such a quest for certainty, Dewey will have nothing to do. He terms it frankly a mere compensation for men's failure to handle successfully the risks of existence here and now. He challenges them instead to cope intelligntly with the actualities of daily life. For philosophic study of the absolute, he would substitute search for methods of control. Assuredly he wants the world to be understood, but in the practical sense of learning how to change it for the better. "Truth is to be won by the adventure of experimenting."

For thirty or more years he has been elaborating this "Instrumentalism," the philosophy which says that the heart of our best knowing is doing, that all ideas must be defined at bottom in terms of things done, or to be done. "Typically American," many have said. But Dr. Dewey remains good-humored. The doing which he praises is certainly not brainless doing. If American Pragmatism (the name used by William James) has been associated with dogmatic, unreflective doing, this is not Dewey's fault. He wants a doing which is more thoughtful, more intelligent. And he insists that the greatest of harm has come not merely from treating thinking as if it had no connection with acting, but even regarding it for that reason as somehow more praiseworthy.

When, in like spirit, he pays his respect even to the thinking done by plain men, women, and children, the charge that this is democracy carried to its extreme gives him little concern. He is not unaware that people differ in intelligence. But he questions whether the pure intellect which tradition honors is as untainted as its devotees suppose. Philosophers are also human beings, with their own senses, dimensions, affections, passions. Aristotle, for example, was not merely pure intelligence. He was an upper-class Greek with the prejudices of his class against the lower orders. He thought that pure intellect made it unmistakably clear that the non-Greeks were barbarians and deserving of nothing better than subjection to their Greek superiors.

Dewey delights in showing how through the ages this alleged pure reason gave the sanction of a seeming eternality to what was after all only the vested interest or the custom of a given time and place. Philosophers and preachers have not been exempt from the weakness of the old woman who, on being asked by a friend whether she had ever journeyed in an airplane, replied, "No, and I don't intend to ride in one. I stick to railroad trains, the way the Good Lord intended

his creatures to travel." Slavery, disease, the subjection of women, come to mind. To-day "the will of God" is against Socialism or pacifism, or any other such disagreeable proposal.

Because feelings, habits, volitions play so important a rôle, Dewey wants them held up to the light and given as rigorous a study as men ever offered to so-called pure reason. He is no more ready today than he was in the earlier stages of his growth to minimize the importance of abstract thinking. But he has come to see how false it is to offer special privilige to any such isolated mental operation. People (including philosophers) feel and do as well as think. Their doing and feeling also tell us much of great importance. Every center of experience, he says, should be heard from. Although all, of course, are not of equal value, at least give all a hearing upon their merits. In short he wants men's brains to stop doing what a certain Negro preacher, according to Ingersoll, called "scrutinging the inscrutable." Spend them instead upon examining all the stuff of human experience in order to reconstruct that experience on constantly nobler lines. Such is his religion—"an idealism of action which is devoted to the creation of a future." He believes ardently that a spirit of this kind will be invincible.

FOR all these reasons, Dewey is an active champion of more than one good cause of betterment. He has eyes that twinkle with kindly merriment; but they can blaze, too, at sham and cruelty. Gentle philosopher that he is, he protested strongly against injustice to Russia, and to Sacco and Vanzetti. He is Vice-President of the Teachers' Union; and it is like the man that the most revered educator in America is willing to lend his name to a group whose members are mostly of alien antecedents. He refuses to accept war-making as a final, unchangeable attribute of human nature, put there by God and changeable only by God. In his earlier days he was a dweller at Hull House where, in company with so many other social pioneers, he attempted to bring a ray of light into Chicago's "jungle of wretchedness."

He is actively interested in getting a better politics. He holds that there is no longer any vital distinction between the Republican and the Democratic party. When it comes to practice, both do the same things at the behest of much the same type of master. He wants to see a third party arise, and he is Chairman of the League for Independent Political Action, recently formed for this purpose. Most philosophers are not likely to be found on such committees. Politics is a messy business. To organize a new party, a man cannot lock himself up in his study and devote himself to "thinking." He must go to meetings, bother himself about raising funds, interesting likely supporters, answering critics. All these details are precisely those practical instrumentalities which traditional philosophy has been above; but Dewey is consistent in treating them with the respect they deserve. His own example illustrates his teaching that it is not enough for philosophy to be interested in the ends of life. It must use its brains to work out appropriate means. Otherwise it will be like an engineer who despises the stuff and the energies of nature on the ground that they are merely material.

In the same spirit he is keenly interested in promoting a new economic order. His warm human sympathy shows itself in his feeling for the part played in a man's welfare by such bitter actualities as the wages he gets, the food, clothes, shelter, recreation, which he can buy, the working conditions which make his day's job (when he has one) a dumb or hated performance, or a liberating affair. He speaks very plainly here. He fears "that there is an irrepressible conflict coming as real and as deep as that to which Lincoln called attention." We live in a civilization controlled by interest in private profit. But our criticisms, our religion, evade all this. They keep to the tradition that these bodily material concerns are no business for the superior part of man. How long it took to get economics into the colleges—even conservative economics!

Who is interested in the intelligent direction of our economic life? Business men themselves? Politicians? These people know what they want for their own advantage. Let the philosopher lead in studying what is best for all together. Let the intelligence which goes into science or which heretofore spent itself in arid metaphysics, be given to this intelligent studying and planning. Otherwise, we shall drift blindly at the mercy of routine or of the will of those who have their own axes to grind and know how to go about getting them ground. "Apply the intelligence which has made our industrial machines and revolutionized the conditions under which people live today to banishing waste, unemployment, strife, extremes of wealth on the one hand and dire want on the other."

HERE is where education takes on the grand meaning which it has in Dewey's philosophy. To the question "Can human nature be changed?" he answers, "We never can tell what the 'nature' of anything is until we learn by experience all that we can make of it."

So it is that he has done such notable pioneering in trying out the latent possibilities in the young. Often enough teachers are reminded that childhood is essentially plastic. But immediately they are told to use this fact in order to make the children act as their elders do. Not so, is Dewey's plea. Just because the child is plastic, try to make him do better than they have done.

For the same reason that he refuses to give "pure" intelligence a favored place in the thinking of adults, he wants a schooling where the whole child, not merely his skill in arithmetic or grammar, will be at home. Remember how grimly the older educational philoso-

ly mistrusted the natural impulses of the child. The esire to handle things, to take them apart, to move round, to explore, to ask questions, was often a nuisnce to the elders, who found it all too easy to regard ese manifestations as therefore diabolic in origin. What legitimate place had these natural impulses in e school-room, where learning was to be got solely y attending to books? Today we know better. These uman propulsions are not necessarily marks of deravity. Everything depends on the direction they are ven. Use them in order that on the solid basis of xperience, children may learn how to build better exeriences—the kind which lead to an ever broader and eeper understanding of good life.

Boys and girls still study from books. They still arn arithmetic, geography, history. But they are no nger subjected to meaningless drills and verbal memozings. They are no longer led from one isolated bit f information to the next. A single day's excursion rings them back to the class-room, with many probems in arithmetic, geography, history, composition ver which to work and in which they see enough sense o make them work heartily.

Do they learn as well? They learn better. They arn with the help of their once-despised natural activies, not in conflict with them. School life is now so nteresting that they cannot keep their minds off their vork. They study with all heart, not half. They want nost of all to be doing things. The school now gives hem the chance; and it is through these problems with n intrinsic appeal, real problems of every-day community life, not chiefly artificial problems set by the eacher out of a book, that they learn. And they care ess for the silly pranks which in other schools are often he only outlet for cramped energies.

IN a recent number of the New Republic, Dewey severely criticizes the usual run of college graduates in America on the ground that their college training does so little to interest them in the realities of the social order into which they move when they graduate. The reason, he holds, is largely that college life is still wedded to the academic tradition of aloofness, where mind is not supposed to occupy itself with such sordid business as unemployment, or the realities of present-day politics. Hence he holds that our American graduates as compared with those of other countries manifest a kind of infantilism. Our higher education "evades serious consideration of the deeper issues of social life; for it is only through induction into realities that mind can be matured. Consequently the effective education, that which really leaves a stamp on character and thought, is obtained when graduates come to take their part in the activities of adult society which put exaggerated emphasis upon business and the results of business success. . . . There is little preparation to induce either hardy resistance, discriminating criticism, or the vision and desire to direct economic forces into new channels."

Sharp as this criticism is, it indicates again what high hopes Dewey places in an education which never loses sight of the organic relation between thinking and doing, and especially of the crying need for endlessly better doing.

NOT all who admire the man and work with him share his entire philosophy. His views on the quest of the absolute keep him outside of any church. In the popular sense, he is without religion. There are, however, other conceptions of the good life than the hedonism which he accepts. Though his following is large and influential, his authority as a thinker is by no means unchallenged. The style of his writing can hardly be called polished. While the difficulties in understanding him are ascribed by disciples to the profundity of his thinking, the less sympathetic put the blame upon confusion in the thought itself. On many points of prime importance, able minds disagree with him sharply.

But even those who view religion and ethics with other eyes, respect the philosopher who, for all his quiet demeanor, is hot against the follies, the vice, the stupidity of this age of industrialism—especially the indifference which lets these ills continue. In so far as truth can be bought only by the adventure of experiment, these persons are one with him and his disciples in his practical hopes, and grateful for his insistence that "human nature" includes all the unexpressed potentialities—all that a better statesmanship, a better economic order, a better life-long education in the remaking of experience may help men and women to become.

Our Precarious Condition

THE most marked trait of present life, economically speaking, is insecurity. It is tragic that millions of men desirous of working should be recurrently out of employment; aside from cyclical depressions there is a standing army at all times who have no regular work. We have not any adequate information as to the number of these persons. But the ignorance even as to numbers is slight compared with our inability to grasp the psychological and moral consequences of the precarious condition in which vast multitudes live. Insecurity cuts deeper and extends more widely than bare unemployment. Fear of loss of work, dread of the oncoming of old age, create anxiety and eat into self-respect in a way that impairs personal dignity. Where fears abound, courageous and robust individuality is undermined. The vast development of technological resources that might bring security in its train has actually brought a new mode of insecurity, as mechanization displaces labor. The mergers and consolidations that mark a corporate age are beginning to bring uncertainty into the economic lives of the higher salaried class, and that tendency is only just in its early stage. Realization that honest and industrious pursuit of a calling or business will not guarantee any stable level of life lessens respect for work and stirs large numbers to take a chance of some adventitious way of getting the wealth that will make security possible: witness the orgies of the stock market in recent days.—*John Dewey* in *Individualism Old and New.*

Not in the Headlines

The Trend Toward Socialism

It costs the City of New York $930,000 a day to operate its public school system, and the figure is expected to reach a million dollars daily in the near future.

For Negro Achievement

The 1931 recipient of the Spingarn Medal, which is awarded annually to a member of the colored race for signal achievement in the field of human endeavor, is Richard B. Harrison. Mr. Harrison played the leading role in *Green Pastures,* the Pulitzer prize play, which had an extended run in New York City.

A Course in Chemical Warfare

An educational program on chemical warfare service has been arranged by the School of Commerce of New York University. A group of 35 reserve officers meets once a month under the leadership of Colonel Joseph D. Sears. The class has for its chief plan the working out of a defense of the Eastern Seaboard via chemical agents to combat hostile air forces.

Where to Buy Candy

A revised edition of the "Candy White List" has been issued by the National Consumers' League. The list endeavors to give publicity to candy manufacturers whose product is produced under sanitary conditions and whose employees are given fair treatment as to wages, hours, and general working conditions. A copy of the White List, which contains the names of candy firms in New York, Brooklyn, Buffalo, Cleveland, Pittsburgh, Rochester, Cincinnati, Chicago, Philadelphia, and other cites, may be obtained from the National Consumers' League, 156 Fifth Avenue, New York City.

Steel and the Seven-Day Week

Disproving the general assumption that the steel industry has reduced its working hours, a recent bulletin issued by the United States Bureau of Labor Statistics indicates that the number of men working seven days a week has increased since 1923 and was greater in 1929 than in 1926. In such departments as sheet and tin-plate mills, open hearth furnaces, blooming mills, and blast furnaces there were more employees working seven days a week than in 1926. Altogether 25 per cent of the 71,000 workers covered in the study were on the job every day in the week.

How High Must a Ship Mast Be?

Plans for a new Hudson River bridge connecting New York City with New Jersey have been held up owing to the opposition of the War Department. In drawing up plans engineers allowed for a clearance of 175 feet, but the War Department insists that this be increased to 200 feet in order that United States Naval vessels, which have masts exceeding 175 feet in height, may pass underneath the bridge. The reason given by the War Department for this demand is "adequate protection for New York City in time of war." Engineers point out that this demand on the part of the Navy will greatly increase the cost of the bridge and will hold up its construction indefinitely.

The Worm Turns

Shortly before the close of the Seventy-first Congress a group o 53 students went to Washington to lobby against compulsory mili tary training. They presented a petition signed by 10,000 student from 56 different institutions protesting against compulsor R. O. T. C. in colleges and universities.

Mass Education

Last year there were 1,237,000 students registered in institu tions of higher learning in the United States. This number i more than the total enrollment of college students in all othe countries of the world combined.

A Substitute for the Marines

April 14th has been designated by President Hoover as "Pan American Day." Schools, civic associations, and citizens in genera have been called upon to observe the day with appropriate cere monies "thereby giving expression to the spirit of . . . cordiality and friendly feeling which the Government and people of th United States entertain toward the peoples and governments of th other republics on the American continent."

Lynchings to Cost Sheriff His Job

Five white members of the legislative committee of the Tennes see Interracial Commission have drawn up a bill which will b introduced in the state legislature. Under the terms of the bill which is aimed at the eradication of lynchings in Tennessee, direc responsibility is thrown upon the sheriff who, after such an occur rence, shall be automatically suspended from office. The bill also recommends the strengthening of jails so that prisoners may b safely guarded.

Labor Youth Camp

A summer camp for the sons of workers and trade unionists—boys 10 to 16 years of age—will be held at Commonwealth College Mena, Ark., beginning June 15, 1931. Under the guidance of a staff drawn from the teaching and student body of the labor college campers will live a group life and participate in various educational recreational, and manual activities. Each boy will give ten hours a week to manual tasks such as gardening, building, cooking, and laundering. His educational activities will include arts and crafts carpentry and masonry, music, dramatics, nature lore, wood-craft and sports.

Woman's Nationality

The subject of woman's nationality—that is, a married woman's right to her own nationality independent of her husband's—will be one of the items on the next assembly agenda of the League of Nations. The League has invited a group of international women's organizations to appoint an advisory committee representing women all over the world. The organizations consulted are the International Council of Women, International Woman Suffrage Alliance, Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, Inter-American Commission of Women, Equal Rights International, World Women's Union, All-Asian Congress of Women International Federation of University Women, and the Y.W.C.A.

Mobilizing the Ethical Judgment

BUELL G. GALLAGHER

THE encouraging factor in the present depression is the way in which economic circumstances are reinforcing ethical judgments. In times of "normalcy" it has been less easy to convince complacency that a system which seemed to work fairly well could be ethically undesirable; and there was always the retort that the economic set-up, while it might not be wholly perfect, was defensible as a necessary evil. "It works," they said. But now the depression, with its unemployment and glutted markets, its end-products of starvation, disease, and class bitterness, has crossed the t's and dotted the i's of the sorry story, bringing out in clear and unmistakable form the truths which before were only partially apprehended. Even the dullest intellect and the most obtuse conscience are touched by the dramatic tragedy of a world starving because its plethora of goods cannot be purchased by the men who produced them. The obvious failure of the present economic disorder to "deliver the goods" of economic weal to all men, has robbed it of its superficial alleged defense that, though unethical, it was efficient, and should therefore be tolerated. At last we are witnessing the inevitable demonstration, in terms of economic maladjustment, of the ethical bankruptcy which religious judgment has long pointed out.

I am not arguing that we needed to wait for Economic Nemesis to overtake an unethical system before we could be sure of the ethical evaluation. Nor am I defending a fatalistic determinism which welcomes all forms of suffering and exploitation because they are supposed to hasten the not-far-distant day of reckoning. All that I am saying here is that there can now be no mistaking the ethical inadequacy of the prevaling economic processes because, the break-down of these processes having come exactly at the points of greatest ethical discrepancy, we cannot possibly blind ourselves to the basic ethical considerations which must guide any attempt at technical rearrangement or reconstruction.

Systems of economic theory are built upon a set of ethical assumptions and value-judgments. Whether these assumptions are openly announced, whether they are tacitly assumed, implied rather than expressed, or whether they are covertly introduced and deliberately camouflaged, value-judgments are the foundations on which economists rear the super-structure of economic theory. *The Wealth of Nations,* the Magna Charta of classical economics, is based upon its author's earlier *Theory of the Moral Sentiments.* And whether or not the successors of Adam Smith have elaborated their respective ethical theories as completely as he did, every set of economic theories involves value-judgments and expresses assumptions on ethical matters.

It ought not to be possible to dodge the ethical challenge by protesting that the economist, to be scientific must rule out ethical questions and concern himself solely with "facts." To be scientific, a study must include all relevant facts; and being a science that deals with men, economics must therefore include questions of motive and objective. Although it is sometimes alleged that the function of economics is purely descriptive—not regulative — which is an ambiguous way of saying that its office is one of defense and justification rather than independent assessment and evaluation—the study is not completely descriptive if it does not include the moral issues which can determine the way the economic processes are carried on. When

Genii

THE genii shadows cross the city sky.
Above the far-flung cliffs of brick they spread
Their veils, and grimly brood upon their fate—
Each melancholy figure but a sigh,
The morning breath of industry; each head
A symbol, incarnate weariness and pain;
Blacker as the days go by, while late
And early they must droop and stretch and curl
And cast upon the helpless poor and weak
Dusts that stifle midst the fog and gloom.
Reluctant slaves they are that daily rise and furl
Their dingy banners, slaves that tireless seek
Some drear escape from miserable doom.

LORENE M. PACEY

professors with their academic inclination, or men of commerce with their practical bent, rule out technical questions, by asserting that "Economics and ethics are separate branches of inquiry," or more bluntly, "We are not in business for our health—Business is not charity!", they are confirming a horrid suspicion that current economic theory and practice will not stand the clear light of ethical analysis.

Let us take a single example of the ethical assumptions on which financio-industrialism rests, to illustrate how the depression, with its concomitant unemployment, has confirmed religious criticism. An analysis of other basic assumptions (such as *laissez-faire,* absolute rights of private property) would be illuminating. For this time, take a look at profit. The ethical judgment of religious prophets has always condemned exploitation, and those of clearest vision have seen that profit-taking was exploitation. The break-down of the system now confirms that judgment. Profit, condemned at the bar of ethical judgment, now stands convicted by costly social experience.

Call in the economist. Ask him what profit is. He will point to the gross receipts of a business, and will divide that income into economic rent—the return on land; interest—the return on capital; wages—the return for labor; salaries—the return for management; and profit—what is left over. And who "earns" this profit? Leaving aside the consideration of the ethics of rent and interest, profit is nothing but the residual amount of gross income which is not paid to pacify the demands of legitimate wages and salaries. There are two sources of profit: the profit-taker may cut into the amounts due labor in wages and salaries, or he may get a margin from the public. And there the economist should stop, if he is to be consistent in ruling out ethical problems.

But he does not stop there. To do so would be to leave the profit-taker in an awkward position. He must defend profit and make it appear ethical. The usual defense of profit-taking is the alleged risk-taking of the entrepreneur. Since about ninety per cent of new enterprises fail, those who succeed should be entitled to pick the plums of profit as payment for their risks. Thus profit becomes a sort of benevolent risk-insurance.

IF profit is to be justified as a return for risk-taking, we must be sure (a) that there is actually a risk; (b) that the risk is socially necessary and desirable; (c) that when the risk diminishes (e.g., in the case of the U. S. Steel Corporation), the profit shrinks correspondingly (as it does not in this case); (d) that the community is agreed that the risk should be borne and the risk-insurance collected by an individual rather than by a social unit; (e) that all persons who share in the risk share also in the profit, labor included; and (f) that the size of the profit is approximately commensurate with the nature of the risk. Hedged about within these limits, profit would be reduced to a calculable insurance service, similar to marine or hail insurance, to be administered on a scientific basis with social planning to cut out the undesirable and unnecessary risks. This insurance would be justified as a means for equalizing the necessary and desirable burden of legitimate enterprise.

Clearly, this is quite a different sort of creature from the profit that we know in present capitalism. Far from being a means of just equalization of desirable burdens, profit is the primary means of building inequality and thrusting the undesirable and unnecessary burdens of the system upon the exploited. Merely to suggest that current profit-taking which swells income tax reports to items of five, six, and seven figures for one man's *annual income* (not aggregate wealth)—merely to suggest that these fabulous incomes are justifiable as risk insurance for the protection of the benevolently venturous plutocrat is to show the absurdity of an attempt to justify profit as we know it.

LOOK for a moment at the curious spectacle of our belated efforts to relieve unemployment. The purchasing power of workers having been so far curtailed that they could not buy the products they made, the wheels of industry had to stop running because of glutted markets. That only aggravated the difficulty by further decreasing the buying capacity of the workers. Now we are busy inventing jobs and providing salable apples so that some portion of the masses will be able to buy again. From some quarters it is suggested that the only effective and adequate means of curing the present difficulty is that of taxing ourselves 80 or 90 per cent of our economic goods and putting this effective purchasing power into the hands of the starving and the exploited. But whatever else can be said, this much is obvious: the depression has furnished convincing proof of the undesirable nature of exploitation. And while we are inventing bits of ritual (like jobs on public parks) to disguise our American-system dole, the ethicist should insist that the basic problem to be met is this question of exploitation. To restore a partial and temporary economic security to the now incapacitated victims, only that they may be exploited again by the profit-takers, is to refuse to find a solution. Immediate relief there must be. But permanent cure will not come as long as profit-taking—exploitation of workers and public—is countenanced.

Sharpen the ethical analysis of profit. What is it? Take an example. I stand *in front* of a counter in a grocery store and put my hand into the pocket of another man. I can be arrested and imprisoned for taking from him a nickel which I did not earn. But let me put on an apron and stand *behind* the counter,

and by writing a figure on a package establish a price for the pound of prunes, thus by legal process taking twenty cents for goods which cost me (wages of management included) eighteen cents, and if I can keep that up long enough, and do it to a sufficiently large number of people, I shall be called a successful business man. It all depends on which side of the counter I stand; if I observe the rules of the game, I can work it for all it will pay. And if I can organize the whole profit-taking process into a corporation, with an imposing name and engraved letterhead, I can hide behind the impersonality of that mask and clip coupons of stock certificates which when issued represented claims on hoped-for earnings rather than any specified investment in the concern. Or I can reinvest the "surplus" which I am able to amass by the exploitation of workers or public, and then claim that this capital is entitled to its "fair return" (which goes to me). And if I endow two homes for orphans and establish a Bureau of Research for the Study of Improved Incubation of Pigeon Eggs, I shall die a respected member of the community, a public benefactor.

Whether I belong to the middle class (which consists of persons who don't get a profit now but hope some day to be in a position to take one) or whether I belong to the plutocracy, (which consists of persons who have long since ceased trying to justify their incomes in terms of work expended for the services on which profit is charged)—in either case in this depression period I shall feel very virtuous as I buy an apple a day or see my name in the press opposite a nice fat contribution to the Mayor's Unemployment Relief Fund. As one prominent speaker, who had made such a contribution, told us just before Christmas, we should be able to eat our own Christmas dinners with clear consciences.

Out of this harrowing experience—an experience which is plowing deeply into the lives of twenty millions in this country alone—there should come something more than a feeling of smug complacency and satisfaction that we have done a little to relieve the misery and soften the blow. There should come such a mighty wave of disgust and shame that Christians would say, as another once said of the great shame of his day, "If I ever get a chance to hit that thing, I'll hit it, and hit it hard!" Those who feel the inadequacy of the economic set-up, those who see therein the confirmation of ethical judgments long since made into the true nature of plutocracy, will need to band themselves together into a working fellowship to hit this thing and hit it hard. It will not be an overnight job; it will not be accomplished in a few years or a decade. But there is no time to delay if we are to avert a violent revolution in which the dispossessed will dispossess the dispossessors. The outraged sense of justice in the breast of man will not be forever quiescent.

Employment and Housing

I. M. RUBINOW

WHAT has precipitated the present national catastrophe is a problem of more than mere academic interest. It is an even more vital problem than any general economic theory of industrial cycles can be. It is almost as important as the next problem, namely, what is going to make the tide turn? In fact it is not difficult to see how closely those two questions are related.

It would be naive to claim that the collapse of the stock market was solely responsible for our present economic depression, although at either end, as it were we find this faulty theory advanced. Serious unemployment had developed at least two years before the collapse of the market, and its more alarming stages did not become apparent until six months after the crash. Whether the situation be designated as overproduction or underconsumption (a somewhat amusing alternative which provokes the question: did we produce more than we consumed or did we consume less than we produced?) there can be no doubt that the glutting of the automobile market must bear a substantial part of the responsibility. That is being fairly well recognized. Somewhat less so the sudden reduction in building.

A little gray pamphlet published in October, 1930, by the Federal Department of Labor (Bulletin of the United States Bureau of Labor Statistics, No. 524): "Building Permits in the Principal Cities of the United States in 1929", which will probably have only a limited circulation among professional statisticians, throws considerable light on the subject. The total number of building permits decreased from 385,081 in 1928 to 305,870 in 1929, a decline of more than 20 per cent. The cost of such buildings for which permits were issued dropped from $3,098,000,000 to $2,663,000,000, a decline of some 15 per cent. How many wage earners in the building trades and subsidiary industries were thus thrown out of employment can only be surmised.

A few more figures may be quoted as of considerable interest. The decrease took place entirely in residential buildings. Their total value declined from $1,914,000,000 to $1,476,000,000, a decrease of about 23 per

cent. There was, significantly enough, no decline, but on the contrary a substantial increase in hotel buildings from $115,000,000 to $284,000,000, an increase of nearly 150 per cent. Finally, it was not in the building of one or two-family dwellings but in the so-called multi-family dwellings—apartment and tenement houses, that is—dwellings for large metropolitan centers, that the most sensational decline took place—from $867,000,000 to $526,000,000, or about 40 per cent in one year.

To be sure there is a ready explanation, or rather a ready justification: the shortage of dwelling facilities caused by stoppage of building during the war. The feverish construction activity beginning with 1921 (together with the similar situation in the automobile industry) has been responsible to some extent for the era of prosperity which was assumed to be permanent but unfortunately did not fulfill that hope.

IN 1921, some 225,000 families were provided for by the building of new dwellings. This number rapidly rose until 1925 when it reached a peak of 491,000. Then came a gradual decline. In 1928 there was still enough new building to provide for 389,000 families. In 1929 the number declined to 244,000. What the figure would be for 1930 it is difficult to surmise; but the distressing condition of the building trades gives sufficient cause for alarm. It may, of course, be argued that the demand for new dwelling facilities has rapidly reached the saturation point as the automobile demand has done, even though the automobile manufacturers would deny it violently and the mere announcement of the doctrine is almost high treason. But is the situation altogether parallel?

There are approximately 25,000,000 families in this country. The increase of population is considerably less than one and one-half per cent per annum. The "normal" relation between new dwellings and the number of families (in 1921 and 1929) was less than one dwelling for 100 existing families. At its very height, to compensate for the war shortage, that proportion did not rise over two per hundred families.

How does that compare with automobile production and registration? In 1929 the total number of automobiles registered was 26,500,000 or practically a car for every family. (Not that each family had a car, by any means; but the average is there anyway.) If there were a parallel between automobiles and dwellings, there should have been a production of anywhere from 250,000 to 500,000 cars per annum. As a matter of fact in 1928 over 4,600,000 cars have been produced, and 5,600,000 in 1929 (though they all may not have been sold—which was just the trouble). In other words, the annual production represented nearly 20 per cent of the total registration. It was three and a half times as large as the annual increase in registration.

WHAT is the mystery of these figures? As has already been said, a partial explanation is to be found in the glutting of the used car market. Automobiles seem to be the only article of movable property in which a purchase is almost always accompanied by a double sale. One can imagine old Karl Marx chuckling at this unexpected modification of his famous formula expressing the circulation of goods and money. It seems that the formula in automobiles never reaches the simplicity of

$$M = G$$

meaning money in exchange for goods but also

$$G \text{ plus } M = G \text{ minus } M$$

so that the seller though he may have some additional money always remains with the same quantity of goods on his hands.

Neither is this the complete explanation. The number of automobiles scrapped in the United States during 1916 was estimated at 175,000 or some 7 per cent of the total of registration. By 1929 it had reached 2,600,000 or 10 per cent of the total registration. Nor does that mean that if 10 per cent of all the automobiles registered are scrapped in one year, then the average life of a car is about 10 years. As a matter of fact a large proportion of cars are much younger and the percentage of scrapped automobiles has been continuously increasing. Thus the number of cars sent to the dump heap in 1929 represents 15 per cent of the total number of cars existing in 1923 or five years earlier.

There are those who argue that this is as it should be. No decent self-respecting American, unless he is perhaps a farmer in the mountains of Kentucky or Tennessee, would be willing to confess to using a car that is six or seven years old. Among most of our populace embarrassment begins on the first anniversary of the car's existence.

Is it an example of American waste? Not a bit of it, argues the automobile trade. In the general ballyhoo that we raise ourselves out of our economic mire by our own boot-straps—that is to say, by discarding the old and buying the new—no voice is so insistent as those of the automobile producer and distributor. The argument has been seriously advanced that we could put a stop to our depression by the heroic measure of destroying a few million second-hand automobiles, and that the use of second-hand cars should be prohibited altogether. It was Stuart Chase who wisely suggested that the way to save American prosperity was to invent a car that would run like h— for a full year and then automatically fall to pieces on its first birthday.

It takes a man who doesn't own a car to stand in wonderment before this economic dilemma. So complicated a piece of machinery, so handsomely decorated a contraption with all its wheels, levers and rollers, with all its overstuffed leather and velvet, with all its gewgaws and gimcracks and gadgets—should it be discarded in two or three or even five years? Is it pos-

sible that it can be used up in so short a time? Why should it not last at least as long as the overworked davenport in my living-room? Is there really anything more than style and fancy and the feminine passion for display that is responsible for this rapid turnover?

SUPPOSE this same economic philosophy were applied to our housing facilities. If the construction of residential buildings is sufficient to accommodate each year one or at most two families per hundred existing families, does that not mean that we anticipate the average life of a dwelling to be from 50 to 100 years—a figure which is considerably greater than the owners or builders of our tallest skyscrapers are willing to count on for their amazing products? It is true that old dwellings cannot be discarded as readily as old automobiles. We cannot provide for their turnover by running them into a ditch and letting them turn over. There they stand silently moored in the ground unless knocked down by mere good fortune, whether it be an earthquake, tornado or, like uncivilized Europe, the Big Berthas of the enemy.

Might we not perhaps do better if we expedited the process? From every possible point of view there is a good deal more justification for prolonging the existence of the automobile until it can no longer run. But are we willing to advocate living under housing conditions established 25, 50, or 100 years ago and without limit so long as the houses stand? Are we not consciously invalidating all our pretended concern for public health by retaining housing facilities of the early eighteenth century? Is it logical to insist upon the last word in art and science, in education and medicine, while we preserve the dark rooms and unsanitary, old-fashioned plumbing and lighting in our everyday dwellings?

Would the change be costly? Of course. But how much costlier than to keep millions of able-bodied workers in construction industry idle? How much costlier than to see the deterioration of all subsidiary industries producing materials necessary for construction? Again to quote that eloquent commentator on the absurdities of our economic organization, Mr. Stuart Chase, it is stated that we have a productive capacity double or treble the possible consumers' demand in such articles as shoes or radios. What about the excess of productive capacity for modern, sanitary and healthful housing? After all, the demand for men's shoes is strictly limited. Even for women's shoes, though the demand may be many times as great, there is at least a theoretical limit. Perhaps most of us have already reached it. But as far as sanitary housing is concerned, even a casual observation from the automobile or taxi window will show a horrible picture in cities and rural communities alike.

"But," says the accountant, "we cannot afford it. Where is the capital to come from?"

The people who own those homes are in many cases poor. They cannot afford to build. And those who rent cannot afford to pay the high rents that a new, more comfortable and up-to-date building would make necessary. And just there is the rub. Because individually we cannot afford what we need, and because collectively though we can afford it we do not recognize the need, the thing does not click. As a result we are confronted with millions of people out of work, and we have to build unnecessary roads or go through the motion of cleaning up the litter in vacant lots only for the street urchins to replace it with gusto next year. Such less useless or in any case not imperative work we can afford. But we are unable or unwilling to marshal our financial resources to do the sensible thing; to meet or rather to take advantage of the release of labor power through technological improvement for the purpose of rebuilding our housing facilities—a need which is much more important than replacing our automobiles every five or six years.

Suppose our municipal, state, and national responsibilities, in this direction were recognized. Suppose the power of cheap credit that vests in organized government were utilized for very low credit or even—*horribile dictu*—for non-interest-bearing credit. Suppose we ventured a few steps in the direction of municipally-owned housing for our masses. Might not that be more esthetic as well as more economic than out-and-out poor relief, public or private? Might it not be more to the point than our efforts of solving unemployment by the sale of apples and, if that fails, by adding tangerines?

Of course any such proposal is obviously nothing but rank socialism. And there you are.

Distant Wonder

ONCE dreams were moths in darkness, fragile wings
Starring the dullness with their glimmerings.
But now I am not fettered or oppressed
By magic weight of dreams upon my breast;
My eyes no longer seek a distant wonder,
For tempests rising with a crash of thunder
Above a murmurous enchanted sea,
No longer are enthralled by sorcery.

Beauty no longer holds its ravishment—
Untouched I watch the winding ways she went.
My hand no longer strains or reaches
For foam-flowers on windy beaches;
And fancies that were bright and beautiful
Are moonrays floating on a darkened pool;
My will is bent beneath the wind like clover,
Bent by the weight of life—and singing over. . . .

ANTONIA Y. SCHWAB

Findings

"Next to the originator of a good sentence is the first quoter of it."—Emerson

A New Argument

I always vote for a large Navy. It is indispensable so long as the Republicans are in charge of our foreign affairs.—*Congressman Gilbert, Congressional Record, January 14, 1927, p. 1683.*

What of Organized Labor?

In the big manufacturing industries organized labor has not only failed to make advances; it has fallen back. And in certain of the newer industries, notably automobile manufacturing, the unions haven't even squeezed a wedge in. The American Federation has lost in prestige and in numbers. Once militant, it is now conciliatory; and its organ, the *Federationist,* spends endless space discussing "cooperation" and the "mutual interests" of employer and employe.—*Philip Wagner, in The American Mercury, October, 1930.*

A Debtor Nation

Now here is the surprising thing: Foreign investments and deposits in the United States today are even larger than before the war. At the end of 1929 we owed foreigners about 7½ billion dollars. Thus we are again the greatest debtor nation in history, on private account—ranking a little ahead of either Canada or India. Germany is left out of account here because its debt to foreigners is so largely political.—*Dr. Julius Klein, Assistant Secretary of Commerce, in a radio talk, quoted in the Financial Chronicle, September 6, 1930.*

Where Providence Has Unfurled

Albert J. Beveridge, in a speech delivered in Indianapolis in that year of Manifest Destiny, 1898: "Fellow Americans, we are God's chosen people. . . . His great purposes are revealed in the progress of the flag, which surpasses the intentions of congresses and cabinets, and leads us like a holier pillar of cloud by day and pillar of fire by night into situations unforeseen by finite wisdom, and duties unexpected by the unprophetic heart of selfishness. We cannot fly from our world duties; it is ours to execute the purpose of a fate that has driven us to be greater than our small intentions. We cannot retreat from any soil where Providence has unfurled our banner; it is ours to save that soil for liberty and civilization."—*Halford E. Luccock, Jesus and the American Mind, p. 24-25.*

No Sacrifices by Labor!

At the moment the greatest obstacle in the path of business recovery is the relentless opposition manifested to wage concessions on the part of labor, even where imperatively called for by the requirements of the situation. The consequence is that the spirit of mutual sacrifice, which in periods of stress is so serviceable, is being almost entirely extinguished among an important portion of the population. The laboring classes are taught to believe that high wages are such an absolute essential to prosperity that their part in promoting trade revival must be to remain resolute in the determination that labor schedules must continue at prevailing levels; that if concessions or sacrifices are required they must be made by others, not by the labor classes.—*Editorial in The Commercial and Financial Chronicle, Saturday, November 1, 1930.*

Living Up to Youth's Repute

I mean to live up to our reputation of being reckless, rash and irresponsible. . . . The supreme task of this generation is the consolidation of peace, but we must do it before the generation that knew and realized the horrors of war has passed away. At the present moment, in spite of all the paper barriers against war, preparations for war have never been so perfect.—*Megan Lloyd George, speaking at Essex Hall, Strand, London, November 10, 1930.*

He Just Had to Fight

What impressed one most about Roosevelt was his amazing vitality. He believed in action for men and nations. Anything seemed to him better than to rust and stagnate. For this reason he hailed the Spanish-American War with delight. I met him first at a luncheon party in Washington a few months before the opening of that conflict. He thought America was growing too soft and comfortable, and needed the clash of arms to rouse it. "We must fight somebody," he said. "We had rather not fight you (the British) but if we cannot fight anybody else we may have to fight *you.*" Fortunately the Cuban campaign diverted his martial enthusiasms.—*Atticus, in the London Times, November 9, 1930.*

Dole or Revolution

In European countries it is generally believed that withdrawal [of the payment to unemployed] would lead at once to revolution and social chaos. Having no money to buy bread leads at once to taking bread; we have had experience of that in Germany and elsewhere since the war. At the worst, therefore, public assistance is an insurance to prevent violent revolution against a social order of which some believe themselves to be the victims. Men in Europe will not starve or die quietly; nor will they work under what they regard, however erroneously, as slavish conditions. The fear of what would occur if the maintenance from public funds were withdrawn from the able-bodied is one of the chief causes for the continuance of the policy.—*C. DeLisle Burns, in Current History, December, 1930.*

Social vs. Mechanical Science

Science and mechanical engineering are doing their part, but social engineering lags behind. This is not because inferior brains are devoted to social engineering. It is because social scientists and technicians require more courage but fail to possess it. Modern business encourages and exploits natural science and engineering. It sees the prospect of greater profit therein. But it is fearful of social science which may recommend policies that will curb and curtail irresponsible private business enterprise in the interest of human well-being. Natural science and invention are free and unhampered in their work. Social science is subsidized by universities and foundations endowed by the custodians of things as they are. It is a brave investigator who will propose and execute a study likely to challenge the existing system. Unless we can have a full and free development of social science, the triumphs of science and technology will only hasten the day of the collapse of industrial civilization.—*Harry Elmer Barnes, in the Buffalo Times, November 16, 1930.*

Tainted Money

JEROME DAVIS

A PAUPER is a person who depends for sustenance on outside support. A man may be very wealthy and still be a pauper. Not so long ago a beggar died in New York. For many years he had feigned blindness by rolling his eyes so that the whites showed. It was discovered that he had an estate worth over one hundred thousand dollars, yet he was a pauper. To some degree we are all of us paupers. We depend for our sustenance on outside support. Whether or not we think we are independent or earning our salary, nevertheless, we are in reality the beneficiaries of a social order which is distributing its returns unfairly and inequitably. To some degree we are partners in mal-distribution and injustice. To cite one concrete fact: We cannot be indifferent to the loss of property and of self-respect incurred by the unemployed. Here, for instance, is an extract from a letter just received from one of the unemployed who *has saved.*

> If only more of the moneyed class would forget their high positions and high salaries for a few hours, and think of those who know not where to get another meal, and of the hard-working man arrived at middle age, his little savings swallowed up by unemployment, too proud to ask charity, holding up his head and hoping, hoping for something to turn up and save his comfortable home from being demolished! Thousands . . . have invested their small savings in a home, hoping in a few years' time to pay off the mortgages; but with no work, nothing to pay on the mortgages, nothing with which to pay the taxes, what happens? This class of people who have been diligent and economical are passed unnoticed. They are just waiting for the deluge, when they will be called upon to surrender their homes for taxes and mortgages due. They are mostly too proud to ask help from any one; and if they were to bow the knee and ask assistance . . . imagine the consequences. It would be said, "What—a property owner trying to take what belongs to the poor!" A property owner? No, we are really just a conscientious, frugal working family about to lose our life's savings because no work is available. The irony of it all!

The church can not be indifferent to appeals of this kind. One method of response is to analyze just where our own incomes come from. Why are we not in the same plight as the author of this letter?

Too often our salaries, even our Christmas gifts, come from money which has been gained through questionable means. Not long ago I had the privilege of being entertained in the home of a well-to-do industrial executive. This man had primary responsibility for thousands of workers throughout the United States, and during the industrial depression he had found it necessary to lay off many hundreds. Wages were comparatively low in some of his plants. Through stock investments and pool operations he had been reasonably successful in adding to his income, even beyond the large returns he received in normal years from stock in his own company. He told me something about what he was giving, and of the various public causes which were partially dependent upon him for their support. As an argument against unemployment insurance he expounded the theory that it is impossible to make one's business a "Sunday-school enterprise." He felt that his primary responsibility in industry was to make a profit, and that precepts about the Golden Rule or wages being a first charge upon industry were impractical shibboleths. A deacon in his church, he helps to support it generously, he gives to the community chest of his city and to the anti-tuberculosis association. He even contributed a substantial sum so that his minister could take a vacation abroad.

When I recalled to my own mind the long lines of men and women who had lost their employment in his plant during the previous year, I could not help wishing that with each contribution to worthwhile causes he might have sent a little card of explanation. For instance, his check to the community chest might have had attached a memorandum reading: "The money to contribute to this cause came as the result of a pool operation in Wall Street when we ran the price to 80 and then stepped out from under. Thousands of poor people were caught." The beautiful words of appreciation to the pastor for his loving and Christlike service, with an accompanying check, might have contained as a postscript: "This money came to me from inadequate wages to my workers who are pared down to a bare subsistence level."

IT is not my intention to try to minimize the sincere spirit of good-will which prompted these gifts, but only to suggest that we ought to analyze the sources from which they came. As a teacher in a university, I should like to have one of my students write his doctor's dissertation on the obligation of the student to those who have made possible the great educational opportunities which he enjoys. The study should discuss not merely those who gave the funds to the university, but where and how they secured their money so that students might know to whom they were really indebted. In many cases this might prove to be the laboring group in a particular industry, who had toiled long hours at a low wage in order that funds might be piled up in the bank account of

some one of the well-to-do absentee stock holders.

Obviously there is no way for any of us to escape responsibility for "tainted money". As long as we work in educational institutions, churches, or even within the confines of our business civilization, directly or indirectly we are the beneficiaries of exploited labor. Undoubtedly the greatest peril of all is permitting ourselves to be consciously or unconsciously muzzled or shackled because of money received from reactionary sources. The aggregate effect of such social pressure is incalculable in America. Every teacher who speaks fearlessly on current social issues knows what this means. Against this danger we must ceaselessly use every intellectual resource at our command. One of the best is to analyze scientifically the sources of our income, then make sure we are doing all in our power to help those whose labor has in the last analysis made it possible.

IT is not only the university which needs to analyze its gifts. The minister is preëminently a beneficiary of his community. He often receives a salary larger than the average member of his church. While he works at various tasks from morning to night, nevertheless he has freedom to do the kind of thing which he himself desires. Nearly always he is able to enjoy a longer vacation than his people. He comes back with new enthusiasm only to find parishioners worn out with the burdens of monotonous tasks running throughout the year. In a peculiar measure the minister is therefore freed by society to serve God and humanity. Would it not be appropriate for him to make an economic analysis of the sources of his income? He could analyze all those who contribute to the church, on a percentage basis, and could then prepare a chart which might read something like this: Five per cent of our church income and consequently my salary comes from the president of the N. B. D. Corporation, a strong anti-union plant; five per cent from the chairman of the Board of the Nth National Bank; five per cent from the president of a brokerage house which specializes in pool operations on Wall Street; three per cent from the former president of the George Jones factory, which employs a thousand girls fifty-five hours a week at an average wage of thirteen dollars; two per cent from the head of a department store which pays its girls an average of eleven dollars a week and works them twelve hours a a day in the Christmas season."

So his statistical chart would run, and he would know in rough measure to whom he was indebted. Would this not be a powerful stimulus to make him sense his great responsibility not only to the men who send in the contributions for his church work but to that very much larger number who make possible the accumulation of the wealth of which he is the beneficiary?

FAR too often part of the minister's income and his vacations come from the exploitation of American labor. How many hundred ministers throughout the United States are living in relative comfort from money which has been won through the toil of those who have not even been allowed to unionize in the factories, shops, mills, and department stores of the nation! Is it not possible that the minister, in accepting these funds, is to some degree unconsciously mortgaging his message and his time? Mistakenly and inexcusably he feels that he is chiefly indebted to the wealthy men from whom the church receives its income. One fifteen-thousand-dollar-a-year minister in a large city church told the writer that he felt he must pay two thousand dollars more for rent alone than in his previous parish because he must live in the expensive district of his parishioners. The fact is that the more money a minister receives from wealthy men the less is he indebted to that class and the more indebted he becomes to the working masses of America. The ministers in our middle and upper class churches have an obligation to do all in their power to see that economic justice is enthroned in the practices of every single contributor. To the extent that a minister keeps silent either intentionally or unconsciously, in the face of social wrong, he is a partner in exploitation—indeed, a beneficiary of stolen goods. When we consider that three-tenths of one per cent of the people pay 95 per cent of the income tax, and that 86 per cent of all the incomes are below the two-thousand-dollar level, the minister whose salary falls above that line is already in a small preferred class. To some extent he has erected a barrier between his way of life and that of the masses. If in addition, he keeps silent when thousands are discharged without a dismissal wage or unemployment benefits, if he does nothing in the face of open-shop and non-union conditions in his community, he becomes a coöperative partner, even though unconsciously, in the class stratification and injustice of our time.

For some of us it is difficult to understand how ministers can accept salaries of fifteen thousand or more in the face of colossal need. Their various explanations sound like rationalizations and even their occasional courageous, liberal, prophetic utterances cannot blind the people to the fact that they seem to be using for their own benefit money which has been won from the rank and file of the working-class who are toiling at low wages, with no security of income and facing ever recurrent poverty in depression periods.

If every minister in America would actually prepare his own income chart in detail so that he could see to whom he is really indebted for the things he enjoys, we would go far toward overcoming the indifference and contentment, even sometimes the smug hypocrisy, of our religious life.

The Book End

The World Tomorrow reviews only books which it believes, after critical evaluation, to be helpful and interesting. On rare occasions it includes unfavorable comment on a popular volume which seems sufficiently misleading to render adverse criticism imperative.

Socialism According to Thomas

America's Way Out: A Program for Democracy. By Norman Thomas. Macmillan Company. $2.50.

GENE DEBS alone has equalled the contribution made by Norman Thomas to American understanding of Socialism. The former surpassed in the quality of his emotional attachment to the workers; the latter stands (ably supported by his colleague, Harry Laidler) as the foremost interpreter of the social scene to intellectuals. Moreover, the mantle of Debs has fallen upon Thomas and he has become the acknowledged spokesman of American Socialists.

This discussion opens with a picture of the world transformed by machinery and follows with an interpretation of the way we now use our "billion wild horses." Capitalism is indicted on four counts: the whole system is planless and extremely chaotic; it bestows wealth upon some without effort; it divides the product of industry irrespective of need or ability; it accentuates luxury and competitive spending and is therefore socially wasteful. The two sides of the shield may be described as poverty and unemployment in the midst of potential plenty.

The newer forms of capitalism are outlined as the development of technology, the application of psychology in personnel and welfare work, the payment of relatively high wages, the diffusion of ownership by the sale of stocks to workers and consumers, the scattering of risks through investment trusts, the rise of managerial responsibility, the use of business forecasts and the spreading of production, the diminution of unscrupulous competition, and the recognition that markets are international.

This program seems inadequate to Norman Thomas, and in subsequent chapters he tells why he believes in a more radical approach. The three distinguishing characteristics of Socialism are: advocacy of public or social ownership and control of land, natural resources and the principal means of production and distribution of goods; the modification but essential preservation of the democratic state, and the use of pacific and constitutional means of social transformation; and the comradeship and coöperation of the workers of all lands.

The triple need for a Socialist philosophy, program and organization is stressed. The cornerstone of all is the absolute necessity of planned control of the resources and machinery of the world. The shift of the major means of production to social ownership should begin with those industries where the engineer is already more important than the owner or investor: waterpower, telephones and telegraphs, railways and other public utilities, coal mines, etc. Land tax, income tax and inheritance tax are advocated as instruments of social change. An adequate system of unemployment insurance, supported heavily by employers and subsidized by the state, is recommended. Illuminating sections discuss the need for the organization of the workers in national trade unions, the consumers in national coöperative societies, and the voters in a national political party. Chapters are also devoted to communism, democracy, war, internationalism, etc.

This volume would be repudiated by many orthodox Marxian Socialists on the Continent, and would cause disgust and nausea in Moscow. The British Labor Party would regard it with sympathy and approval. The important point is that what Norman Thomas has written is indispensable to an understanding of American Socialism.

K. P.

Jews and Arabs

About Zionism. By Albert Einstein. Macmillan. $1.25.

On the Rim of the Wilderness. By Maurice Samuel. Horace Liveright. $2.50.

The Great Betrayal. By Rabbi Stephen S. Wise and Jacob de Haas. Brentano. $2.00.

SOME time ago, when Dr. Judah L. Magnes, chancellor of the Hebrew University in Palestine, advocated a policy of conciliation in Arab-Jewish relations, he was frenziedly attacked by chauvinistic Jewish nationalists. It is interesting to see how many of his points of view, and certainly the spirit of his approach to the problem, are now being endorsed by Zionist leaders and writers on the subject. Two books recently published demonstrate this emphatically. *About Zionism,* by Dr. Einstein, contains extracts from speeches and letters of the internationally known physicist who is at the same time an ardent Zionist. The spirit of everything that he says can be summed up in the following quotation:

"We Jews must show above all that our own history of suffering has given us sufficient understanding and psychological insight to know how to cope with this problem of psychology and organization; the more so as no irreconcilable differences stand in the way of peace between Jews and Arabs in Palestine. Let us therefore above all be on our guard against blind chauvinism of any kind, and let us not imagine that reason and common-sense can be replaced by British bayonets."

That this point of view is held not only by the extreme pacifist group within the Zionist ranks is shown by Maurice Samuel's brilliantly written *On the Rim of the Wilderness.* In this book Mr. Samuel, who writes in a most entertaining manner and supports his arguments with innumerable facts, maintains that the Arab masses and the Jews have a common enemy in the presence of the *effendi* group, the extorting wealthy landed Arabs. By one quotation after another the author traces to its roots the trouble that has arisen between Arab and Jew. His book would have been a bit more scientific if he had added footnotes or an appendix giving the exact sources of all of his references. But Mr. Samuel is primarily a journalist, and journalists have an almost fanatical aversion to footnotes and appendices. We cannot forbear giving an excellent quotation from his volume which demonstrates the nationalistic approach of so many Zionists—a unique approach as nationalism is usually understood in world politics. Mr. Samuel is now a Palestinian and expresses the attitude of most of the Jewish inhabitants:

"The world is moving away, slowly, fitfully, but unmistakably

from the age of political gestures, flag-worship, 'prestige,' empty demonstrations and 'honor' devoid of morality. The substance of life consists of decent living conditions used as the foundation of a decent spiritual productivity.

"Nothing else matters. Nothing else should enter into the problem of the relationship between the Arabs and the Jews. The development of decent living conditions for both peoples, and the promotion of their decent spiritual use—two tasks closely interrelated—should, ideally, be the sole concern of the Nationalists of both people. Politics, the grammar of group relationships, only has constructive meaning to the extent that it promotes this end. Wherever politics becomes an end in itself, wherever the use of it is regarded as a sublime attribute of man, it becomes as vulgar as pedantry and much more dangerous. From this political interpretation of nationalism Jews and Arabs must cleanse themselves wholly for the sake of their respective national ideals."

With this type of nationalistic idealism, Palestine ought to add much to the moral tone of the nations of the world. We need a great deal more of the spirit reflected in these words.

Einstein and Samuel deal with the eternal verities of Zion. A book more specifically addressed to the recent political difficulties with England, due to the Passfield "White Paper", is *The Great Betrayal,* by Rabbi Stephen S. Wise and Jacob de Haas. This volume is an attack upon the British point of view as exemplified in the manner in which England has repudiated the accepted terms of the League of Nations mandate over Palestine, as well as the various treaties made with the United States and other nations. From a literary point of view the book is not of the same enduring quality as the first two under consideration, but it constitutes a challenge to the unjust British administration of Palestine. It was on the basis of challenges such as this that the British Government was forced to re-open the Palestinian matter. The recent MacDonald letter, while it does not do full justice to the Jewish rights as they have been promised, nevertheless represents a different tone and approach from that of the Passfield "White Paper." Dr. Wise and Mr. de Haas have rendered a real service in presenting the facts of the case in a brief and comprehensive form.

EDWARD L. ISRAEL

Negroes as Farmers

The Rural Negro. By Carter G. Woodson. The Association for the Study of Negro Life and History. $2.50.

MR. WOODSON finds that sixty per cent of the fourteen million Negroes in this country live in rural sections. Out of three million farms in the South, 831,000 are tilled by Negroes. One-third of the white and one-fifth of the Negro tillers own their own land; the average acreage for the Negro farmer is one-half that of his white neighbor. The increase in the use of machinery in farming is at present prejudicial to Negro ownership on account of his small capital. As a tenant he shares with other tenants, but as a cropper he fares more poorly than the white cropper. This is because the color line gives certain presumptions to the white owner, and he holds an attitude he cannot hold toward a white cropper. The white owners fix the price, keep the books, pay the accounts, charge what they please for advances on food, etc. The Negro cropper easily becomes a peon. Peonage, however, is on the decrease, due perhaps to changing public opinion among the whites and to the fact that 650,000 rural Negroes have moved into Southern cities in the past decade, to say nothing of the million and a half of Southern Negroes who have gone North. There has been a decrease of a quarter of a million farmers among colored folks during the past few decades.

Looking from the bottom upwards—that is, from slavery up to farm ownership—it is remarkable that a poverty-stricken, untutored slave folk within two generations have come to own nearly 200,000 farm homes of their own; but looking from an ideal down, the situation is deplorable due to oppression, poverty, ignorance, superstition, and low community life. With short school terms, poor teachers, small sectarian churches, a religion that on the creedal side is fundamentalist and on the moral a copy of the Puritanism of the white, there is little provision for progress among our rural Negro population. What is needed is a sort of Rosenwald Foundation to promote better churches and a better trained ministry, also better health, better hospitalization, and better economic and social conditions in general. Mr. Woodson's book is written in popular style, but his facts cited are authentic.

ALVA W. TAYLOR

More About Russia

The Economic Life of Soviet Russia. By Calvin B. Hoover. Macmillan Company. $3.00.

These Russians. By William C. White. Charles Scribner's Sons. $3.00.

IN 1929 and 1930 Professor Hoover traveled in Russia as the holder of a fellowship of the Social Science Research Council. *The Economic Life of Soviet Russia* is a result of his studies. Dr. Hoover describes the economic order carefully and for the most part impartially, but for those who are not familiar with the Russian system, the book is not easy reading. For instance, in some places a term is used several pages before it is defined. And the study would be more valuable to the American reader if charts describing the economic structure had been added.

Some of the author's interpretations are open to question, and his outlook is affected by the American business culture in which he has been immersed. For example, he makes the assertion that Soviet Russia is further removed from Utopia than is capitalistic civilization. This may be true, but it all depends on what one's concept of Utopia happens to be. If Utopia means "prosperity" and a profit psychology, America is certainly far in the lead; on the other hand, if it means a social order in which the basic means of production and distribution are owned and used by and for all the people, and where the profit motivation has been largely superseded, then it is conceivable that Russia may be nearer the goal, in spite of the fact that she is poverty stricken.

Again, the author says the word "comrade" has no real significance in Russia. However, it is quite conceivable that it has as much significance as has the word "Christian" in America. People tend to use symbols of concepts rather indiscriminately; they become so accustomed to the pattern of a word that the word loses its meaning to some degree. But it is doubtful if its significance is entirely lost. The term "Christian" does have meaning for some in America; similarly, the word "comrade" has significance in Russia.

Wherever Dr. Hoover refrains from passing judgment and simply describes conditions, his book is accurate. It covers almost the entire economic structure of Soviet Russia. The contrasts between the capitalistic and the Soviet system are well portrayed. If every teacher of economics in the United States could read this volume, the theories of Carver, Marshall, Taussig, and others supporting our economic order might be more widely questioned.

As a supplement to Hoover's study, the book by William C. White, who lived for three years in Russia, is very valuable. He

has simply told the story of seventeen different individual Russians. In contrast to the Hoover volume, there are no statistics and the treatment is popular. Mr. White has endeavored to give the human picture of the lives of some of the men and women whom he met in Russia. There is little or no interpretation of them. Some of the Russians seem to be almost psychopathic cases; individuals say things they do not mean, and the cause of their attitudes is not always clear. One significant fact is brought out by these character sketches—that the children of many of those who are bitterly hostile to the Communist régime are, in opposition to their elders, strong proponents of Communism.

The weakness of Mr. White's book is that many of the characters selected are not typical. For instance, the peasant is not really represented although he makes up the bulk of the Russian population; and the only representative of the workers is the skilled mechanic. As is perhaps natural, there is in these stories a good deal of joking and gossip, evidently included in an effort to make the book amusing and entertaining. In some cases, however, the incidents that are recorded appear exaggerated and do not portray actual conditions.

In spite of such limitations, both these volumes deserve a wide reading. Americans can obtain from them a much more accurate idea of what is happening in Russia than through the propaganda and superficial statements dispensed by our press, which have in the past too largely fashioned our thought.

JEROME DAVIS

Forty Years at Hull House

The Second Twenty Years at Hull House. By Jane Addams. Macmillan Company. $4.00.

ANYTHING from the pen of "America's most useful citizen," as some one has aptly called Jane Addams, generally commands attention and this book is no exception. Written from that famous laboratory in human relations at Polk and Halsted Streets in Chicago, *The Second Twenty Years at Hull House* is in a sense a sequel to *Twenty Years at Hull House.* In contrast to the latter, however, the new volume is not so much a personal chronicle as a projection of the settlement into the larger realm of social, political, economic, and international problems.

Miss Addams' life and interests from 1909 to 1929 have covered a wide area, and her book touches upon subjects as divergent as the woman suffrage campaign (in which she played so active a part) and the Scopes trial in Tennessee. She devotes considerable space to Theodore Roosevelt and the Progressive Party, immigration, motion pictures, the World War and subsequent efforts looking toward international amity, prohibition, the Sacco and Vanzetti case, the efforts of phychiatrists and social workers to humanize justice, progressive education, art and the play instinct—all in the light of their relation to our developing social order. Always her analysis of an evil is honest and searching, her solution, if offered, intelligent and reasonable. She does not dodge facts even when they vitiate some of her own previously held theories. One feels this particularly in her discussion of prohibition. She points out with equal candidness the evils of the old open saloon and the peril of current bootlegging and rum-running, and though she still has hopes for the success of the experiment and pleads for further trial, the reader surmises that her mind is not dogmatically closed to modification—if that prove to be the way out. Likewise, she gives us an interesting slant on why we have crime and why we have so little old age, unemployment, or other social legislation.

Most important of all, perhaps, are her chapters entitled, "Efforts for Peace During Five Years of War," and "Post War Inhibitions." In these she relates the story of peace endeavors made before, during and since the war—efforts ranging from the Women's International Peace Congress at the Hague and the Ford Peace Ship to the World Court and the feeding of German and Russian children by the Quakers. Characteristically, in writing of those strenuous, difficult years, Miss Addams barely alludes to the personal persecution she suffered for her convictions, and nowhere is her writing marred by bitterness or reproach.

From a literary point of view the book is not impressive, and it suffers from slovenly, careless editing and proof-reading, the onus of which no doubt belongs to the publisher. But as a record of social movements for the past two decades and as a symbol of a life that has been at once an inspiration and a challenge, it deserves careful reading by all who are concerned with bringing about a better social order.

G. E. M.

The Racial I. Q.

Race Psychology: A Study of Racial Mental Differences. By Thomas R. Garth. McGraw Hill Company. $2.50.

EVERY student of racial differences and every interested layman will be grateful to Professor Garth for his timely summary of investigation to date on this significant subject. Here will be found not only a complete bibliography and a useful epitome of past researches from 1881 on, but full statements of the author's original investigations of various aspects of race psychological differences. Special attention is given to differences in mental level, sense discrimination, musical appreciation, color response, racial personality, mental fatigue, and association of ideas. Throughout, Professor Garth is extremely cautious as to conclusions and succeeds very well in avoiding any appearance of dogmatism. This, together with his desire to give full credit to cultural factors, leads him into occasional contradictions.

Of all mental traits it would seem that mental level, or that intellectual ability presumably measured by the I. Q., is by all odds the most important from the standpoint of the cultural worth of a race. The senses and temperament are doubtless of cultural significance; but they appear to be vastly less important than capacity to learn. What then does Dr. Garth find with respect to this trait? Omitting the various studies of immigrant groups, on the ground that they do not accurately represent average samples of the nations from which they come, he finds average I. Q.'s as follows: whites, 100; Chinese, 99; Japanese, 99; Mexicans, 78; southern Negroes, 75; northern Negroes, 85; American Indians, full blood, 70, three-quarter bloods, 74, half-bloods, 75, and quarter bloods, 77. These results are about what we have been led to expect by other studies. Dr. Garth, however, is careful to point out various studies showing that the I. Q. may be raised by education and that there is as yet no technique whereby the full effect of differences in cultural backgrounds can be evaluated. Moreover, he points out that an occasional Indian, Negro, or Mexican attains a score much above the general run of whites. One may observe here that the frequency of these talented individuals is of vast importance, for upon them a race must rely for its cultural advances; but one must also observe that there is every reason for supposing that their frequence varies much more than do average differences. A small difference in racial average may make an immense difference in the number of individuals with I. Q.'s of 140 or more.

In his final summary the author states that "All races of men hear equally well", but on page 49 he states that the tests indicate that primitives hear less well than civilized peoples. Certainly

differences in sense powers are small, if they exist at all. His finding that races have their favorite colors—red for the Indian, blue for whites and Negroes—is an interesting first result of research in a comparatively unexplored field. We agree that color preferences once expressed in cultural forms tend strongly to be continued by cultural forces. The effort to test esthetic appreciation is also preliminary and does not warrant the conclusion, "Differences in art may be accounted for by differences in materials, in tradition, and in technical skill, and not in esthetic impulse." All races doubtless have an "esthetic impulse", whatever that is, but there is nothing in Garth's study to show that they have it in equal degree.

Dr. Garth recognizes the inconclusiveness of the studies of temperament and personality, but he has the temerity to conclude "that temperament is fairly well distributed in all races and that there is no racial personality for any race." I find nothing in the book to warrant this statement. Of course temperament is "fairly well distributed"—that is, all races manifest all the human qualities. What we want to know is whether they manifest them equally or in different degrees. It would seem that there are close connections between endocrinological elements and temperament; are we to conclude that the endocrine balance is the same in all races? Page Sir Arthur Keith!

The book's primary value is as a summary of results and as presentations of first attempts in new aspects of the problem. There are many points where the student will ask questions, but all will probably agree with Dr. Garth that the separation of hereditary racial traits from cultural modifications and acquisitions is as elusive as the search for original and unmodified psychological traits of the individual. FRANK H. HANKINS

Gandhi of India

Mahatma Gandhi—His Own Story. Edited by C. F. Andrews, with an Introduction by John Haynes Holmes. The MacMillan Company. $2.50.

THE newspapers bring us daily evidence not only that the "Great Soul" of our generation continues to exert a larger personal influence over more of his fellow-humans during his own lifetime than perhaps any other man in history, but also that his hands are upon the switch of current history, alike for the British Empire and for the whole Orient. It is fortunate therefore that his most intimate non-Indian associate, Mr. C. F. Andrews, has given us during 1930 two books which together provide the clearest picture available in English of a personality that to our Western mind is at once enigmatic and fascinating. *Mahatma Gandhi's Ideas* sets forth, partly in exposition and partly by extreme quotation, the main lines of his thinking. The present volume, consisting of selections from the much fuller autobiography dictated during his imprisonment in 1922-24, and later published serially in this country by *Unity,* tells the story of Gandhi's life in his own words.

The reduction of over 1,200 pages in the original two volumes to 363 in this one, has made necessary the omission of most of the story of the last ten eventful years in India which are, however, the best known period of Gandhi's life. Much as one misses a fuller explanation of his program and policies during this critical period, there is compensation in the ample account of his 21 years in South Africa, when the main lines of his thought and character took final shape. It is striking to see how largely his major principles and policies were forged in the heat of racial prejudice and conflict in South Africa, and beaten out upon the heavy responsibilities which his sensitive and courageous conscience assumed on behalf of his fellow Indians whom he found indentured and exploited there. One comes to understand better why these same policies have produced such dramatic results on a much larger scale when later applied to the social wrongs and political disabilities of India herself.

Still more revealing is the light which the book throws on the personality of the Mahatma himself. Like the biographies of so many other great religious leaders, it shows back of him a mother possessed of what he himself vividly remembers as "saintliness." It gives constant evidence of the unusual strength, behind him and within him, of a powerful ascetic interest and impulse that may help puzzled Occidentals, to whom it is alien, to understand better his own deeply revealing words, "My life is based on disciplinary resolutions." Plainly enough his religion, which is the tap root of all his life and work even on its political side, is predominantly ethical and social rather than either mystical or philosophical in type; it has been sensitized and stimulated both by his Indian heritage and his Christian contacts, and notably by the influence of the Sermon on the Mount, of Tolstoy, and of Ruskin. The Mahatma appears in these pages primarily as neither a philosopher, a statesman, or even a saint, but rather as a social reformer.

The great value of the book to Western readers—in addition to the better understanding between East and West which Mr. Andrews prepared it to promote—is therefore (like the influence of personal contact with Gandhi himself) that of a moral and spiritual tonic. The Western mind and modern temper find it frequently hard to follow his reasoning, and even harder to make some of his fundamental assumptions; and they cannot but be startled at the utter lack of self-consciousness (not to call it naïveté) with which he bares to the public gaze not only so much of his shrunken body, but the complete nakedness of his great soul. But our shrunken Western soul has sore need in its relation to things external, of the spiritual independence and fearlessness that has enabled him to bid the servile spirit of his race rise up, stand erect upon its feet, and throw off the domination of an alien race and culture. CHARLES W. GILKEY

Rivalry for Steel and Gold

World Minerals and World Politics. By C. K. Leith. Whittlesey House, McGraw-Hill Book Co. $2.00.

IN brief compass and in an authoritative manner, Professor Leith has presented a mass of highly important data. Among the new elements in the picture, he stresses the enormous increase in the scale of production, the interdependence of nations, the international flow of minerals and the concentration of control. "The Future Geography of Mineral Sources" is outlined in an illuminating chapter. A roll call of nations is made and a summarizing inventory of their respective mineral resources is recorded. The facts herein presented make it clear that in terms of mechanical energy "the United States today is actually doing nearly half of the world's work."

A long section is devoted to an examination of the various governmental policies with regard to the control of mineral resources, including a discussion of tariffs, bounties, embargoes, taxes, and monopolies. The relation of minerals to war is pointed out and interpreted. Familiarity with the contents of this volume will shed light upon current controversies between the great industrial powers. K. P.

WE RECOMMEND

The Pacific Basin, by Gordon L. Wood. Oxford University Press, New York. 340 pages. $4.50. A mine of factual data concerning the geography and resources of Australia, New Zealand, Japan, China, the Philippines, and the Pacific slope of North and South America.

Turkey Faces West, by Halidé Edib. Yale University Press. 273 pages. $3.00. A fine, clear exposition of the background, development, new progress, present problems, and immediate program of the Turks, written by the famous Turkish feminist, whose extraordinary personality is revealed, incidentally, through the sweep of these pages.

The Germans at Versailles, 1919, by Victor Schiff. Williams and Norgate. 208 pages. 7s. 6d. Much has been written about the German delegation which went to Versailles to sign the peace treaty dictated to them there. This is the personal record of the editor of the *Vorwaerts*.

Krupp. A Great Business Man Seen Through His Letters. Edited by Wilhelm Berdrow. Dial Press. 416 pages. $5.00. Berdrow is official biographer of the Krupp family. He omits at least one very famous Krupp letter, that to Napoleon III soliciting orders for Krupp cannons in 1868. The letters are worth reading as a record of the Industrial Revolution in Germany and the tactics of armament makers.

Jobs for Girls, by Hazel Rawson Cades. Harcourt, Brace & Co. 208 pages. $2.00. Vocational guidance is a campaign against the old hit-or-miss job hunting. It is heartily to be commended, especially when it gives rise to such volumes as this—a concise, practical discussion of twenty-two different kinds of employment open to girls today. Necessary education and training, salaries paid, and possibilities for future development are considered. The book should prove useful to parents and teachers alike.

Dominion Autonomy in Practice, by A. B. Keith. Oxford University Press, New York. 92 pages. $2.00. This study of the British dominions is especially timely because of the possibility that India may soon attain a status of equality inside the British Commonwealth.

Unrest—The Rebel Poets' Anthology for 1930, edited by Ralph Cheyney and Jack Conroy. "Studies" Publications. 102 pages. $1.00. An excellent and thoroughly rebellious collection of verse by contemporary poets who lift their voice against economic injustice, capitalism, race prejudice, war and other social ills of our civilization. Such magazines as the *New Leader, Crisis, Daily Worker, Nation, Unity, Christian Century* and THE WORLD TOMORROW are represented.

CORRESPONDENCE

American Seminar

THE Study Pilgrimage to Europe, a carefully selected group of educators, editors, public speakers, and men in public life, will sail from New York, June 21st, to make a first-hand study of conditions in Europe today. The group will visit England, Germany, and Russia, coming out through Prague and Vienna to Switzerland where they will study the work of the League of Nations. From Geneva the party will go on to Paris, sailing for America from Cherbourg.

The total cost of the tour is about $900, and membership in the party is strictly confined to those who publicly write and speak and who can materially aid in improving international relations upon their return to this country.

There are still a few places available in the group, and applications should be made directly to the undersigned at 347 Madison Avenue, New York, N. Y.

New York City SHERWOOD EDDY

Our Prejudices

TODAY THE WORLD TOMORROW seems more than ever in its history to be living up to its name. Particularly do I applaud the interracial and the international standards of the magazine: they too have widened and deepened. To make use of the title of one of the articles in the March issue—you are helping, in a splendid way to "unsnarl racial prejudices" of Americans; you are making us see ourselves as we undeniably are in altogether too great a degree—narrow, provincial, cocksure, biased, bigoted, and tragically greedy for what belongs to others. Unless and until our prejudices *are* unsnarled there can be no world peace; and until more of us Americans realize them, they cannot be unsnarled. So, God-speed, and more power to you!

New York City BLANCHE WATSON

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Waldo Frank says:

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How Does He Do It?

IF the March issue of your journal contained but one article and that article was the one by Tittle, it would be an outstanding issue and we would have received more than our money's worth. Just one question: is that article a reproduction of a sermon Tittle preached in his church? And if so, how does he do it? If the rest of us tried it we would be ridden out of town on a rail.

Cresco, Iowa J. W. REED

A Canadian News Letter

THE Canadian government is showing itself a firm believer in economic nationalism, and the "Canada First" policy is in the saddle. True, a reaction has set in throughout the country, particularly on the western plains; but it has not yet gathered any great force. The ideal seems to be: prevent goods coming in but find markets for our surplus products. The tariff revision of last September raised the walls against American and British imports—New Zealand butter and Australian butter were to be excluded too—but the economic paradise predicted has not been attained. Danish bacon is now being shut out under the guise of foot-and-mouth disease, Russian coal is also to be excluded. Nor is this the end. We are assured of a general upward revision of the tariff at the approaching Parliamentary session. The total trade of Canada in the ten months ending January, 1931, is only $1,496,000, as compared to $2,039,000 in the same ten months of the previous year. Unemployment continues.

Even though economically we are at the moment anything but international in our outlook, yet politically Canada in a general way stands for peace. We are a member of the League of Nations. Our delegation last autumn was headed by Sir Robert Borden, a distinguished Canadian who has served his country well in the struggle for autonomy and in such peace efforts as we have made. The fact that peace is absolutely essential to the survival of Great Britain as an industrial nation—or, for that matter, the survival of the whole world—may shortly turn the Canadian mind more aggressively toward methods of insuring against war.

Plans are being made by the Women's International League of Canada and U. S. A. to hold a conference in Toronto in the spring. The economic basis of peace has been chosen as the theme. This is an indication that women as well as farmers and organized labor are beginning to take a stand for peace, for coöperation, and for the building of a new social order.

Ceylon, Ont., Canada AGNES MACPHAIL

How Valuable are Petitions?

THE article by Bruce Curry in your March issue, *If We Are to Win Conservatives,* raises the most important issue which liberal-radical groups face today. Reform movements suffer from what Ogburn calls the "social lag" far more lamentably than the most conservative forces in the community. This is evidenced by two aspects of their activities: an almost total inability to combine small isolated opinion factories in any given field in a merger or holding company; and the dependence on obsolescent if not obsolete propaganda methods.

Reformers are notably individualistic, which may explain in part the inefficient proliferation of organizations interested in the same broad objectives but too often convinced that their own is the only program for attaining them. There are some hopeful signs

that this phase is passing, but there is still enough difficulty in securing coöperation upon programs or the means of carrying them out, to give pause to any thoughtful observer (who may himself be interested in the objectives) as to where to place his allegiance.

More important, however, is the lack of attention to method which these groups evidence. The pioneer work of Graham Wallas in relating psychology and politics, the recent studies (among others) of Lippmann, Odegard, and Lasswell, the historical accounts of the peace movement in America and Europe by Curti and others, to say nothing of the more technical researches of the geneticists and psychoanalists, offer rich stores of illustration and guidance in the realm of propaganda technique. But there seems to be an all but total neglect of any scientific study of and reflection upon the data with a view to correcting and developing existing methods.

To be specific, I have had for a good while a suspicion that the current reliance on mass petitions, letters, telegrams, etc., poured into Washington in support of various proposals, is to a large extent illusory. Without much practical experience in the field, I confess that my skepticism has been growing. But, so far as I know, there is no thorough survey of results upon which to base an opinion. THE WORLD TOMORROW would be performing an invaluable service to numerous groups by initiating, or at least stimulating, such an inquiry—and others of a related nature. Meanwhile, such a volume as Herring's *Group Representation Before Congress* offers a chart for the explorer in this field—but only a chart. The contours still need tracing.

Amherst, Mass. PHILLIPS BRADLEY

ANNOUNCEMENTS

Economic Conference in Paris

THE Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, with International Headquarters in Geneva and Sections in 26 countries, is holding an International Economic Conference in Paris, April 14th, 15th and 16th, on the World Economic Crisis. Professor Jacob Viner of the University of Chicago is to be one of the American speakers on the program. Some of the others are Dr. M. J. Bonn, University of Berlin; Dr. Elizabeth Van Dorp, the Netherlands; Emmy Freundlich, Economic Commission of the League of Nations, and M. Fuss and P. W. Martin, International Labor Office, Geneva.

Among the subjects to be discussed are: Rationalisation, Unemployment and Markets; Attempts to Secure Economic Stability; The Gold Standard; Price and Monetary Stability and Suggestions for a New International Economic Organization.

Among those Americans serving on an Honorary Committee are: Dr. Ernest Minor Patterson, University of Pennsylvania; Irving Fisher, Yale; F. W. Taussig, Harvard; John H. Gray, American University; John Bates Clark, New York; M. B. Hammond, Ohio State University; John G. Herndon, Haverford; Edwin R. Seligman, Columbia; John T. Copeland, Harvard; John R. Commons, University of Wisconsin; Charles G. Fenwick, Bryn Mawr; Elizabeth F. Baker, Barnard; William T. Foster, Pollack Foundation for Economic Research; W. F. Willcox, Cornell; Alzada Comstock, Mt. Holyoke; Abraham Berglund, University of Virginia; E. L. Bogart, University of Illinois, and Frank D. Graham, Princeton.

Further information may be obtained from Dorothy Detzer, executive secretary of the W. I. L., 1805 H Street, Washington, D. C.

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The Last Page

INCURABLE rustic that I am, I shall never cease to have my troubles with Continental railway trains—especially those which part company with the main lines of traffic and wander aimlessly across the landscape. Because there are several classes of travel, you can get around cheaply; but that is only fair since the customer has to do so much of the work himself. It is not merely that nobody ever tells you when you have reached your station, or that timetables are as scarce and almost as fabulous as hens' teeth; it is not simply that in certain countries nobody ever examines your tickets and straightens you out between the point of embarkation and the point of precipitate descent. Truth to be told, there is a generosity about these train officials that is touching; they make it comparatively easy for you to get on board and start, but almost impossible to get off after you have started.

With seven different methods of getting out of a Continental car I have become familiar, though expert with none. It is frequently not a little confusing to know which method one may best employ. My favorite, however, is the kind of door from which one may, if fortunate, emerge only by the following process: (A) Hunt deliberately, then frantically, for an inside handle to open door, finding none; (B) Pull strap to loosen window of door; (C) Let go of strap, allowing window to slide down, or (C1) Give window irresistible push; (D) Poke head through window, looking for exterior handle of which three, of varying kinds, gradually become visible; (E) Try each of these in turn, Normala holding legs while the bottom handle is finally touched; (F) Finally conclude all three must be turned simultaneously; (G) Turn all three to right, finding that door does not open; (H) Turn all three to left, finding ditto; (I) Turn top two to right and bottom one to left, with same result; (J) Attempt every conceivable combination and permutation a blood-filled head is capable of—with a uniform outcome; (K) At length, either (K1) Yell for a porter, (K2) bang heavily against door, which sometimes (K2a) sticks grimly or sometimes (K2b) opens with vicious immediacy, throwing Eccentricus headlong at the feet of (K2bI) two elegant and bewildered traveling salesmen or (K2bII) a flock of homing schoolgirls; or, at long last, (L) insert feet through window, sit on edge, lower feet gradually to platform, where, in an erect position, the methods outlined under (J) are tried successively, and, possibly, even successfully. By this time, it may be, the train is just departing, and you awake too late to the fact that you should not have left it anyway; but by that time, you probably do not care. The finest thing about horror or pain or just ordinary high-quality confusion is that ultimately one's senses become deadened. Nature is often very kind.

* * *

NATURE may be sometimes less than vindictive; but not so with the writers of certain travel books and guides and inter-lingual dictionaries. By far the great majority of those who travel and those who deal with travelers are, I am convinced, kindly, courteous people. But from the words written to aid the wanderer no one could possibly believe it. I have never yet found a phrase-book which did not start from the fundamental assumption that the client who buys the volume is a superior being, and the people he is to deal with are both idotic and malicious. You may thumb through them and find a few kindly, appreciative expressions, but you will find a lot of arrogance and scolding. Sentences like these abound: "I shall make a complaint against the company"; "This room does not suit me"; "Bring me a light"; "Who are the people in that room next to ours?"; "Chambermaid, bring me a clean towel!"; "Don't forget—you must not make me lose the train"; "I beg you not to stuff my mouth with the lather"; "You are very unpunctual"; "You must mend my socks"; "I am traveling for pleasure, Sir; I have no business here." And concerning many people, Eccentricus can readily believe that last one.

* * *

THERE are not a few writers whose method runs something like this: "The Cologne Cathedral is the largest in North Europe, and I think that Great Britain under the agitation of the Socialists is going to the dogs." A person in point, and a very pointed person, is the English woman who wrote *Vagabond Fortunes—Wayfaring in Provence.* The military roads in Europe, not without a certain logic, inspire Magdalene Horsfall to exclaim: "Picture an army trying to deploy in one of our twisty, honeysuckly lanes at home." (Travel accuracy: all are lanes in England, all military roads in Europe). "We have trusted too long, and still are trusting too much, to the false security of that 'shallow ditch' against which Cromwell warned us." A sign outside a French bank stating that due to the Jewish Day of Atonement the London money market had been stagnant, leads her to preach: "Can we marvel that our financial policy is apt, at times, to be anti-British in its tenor, when it is apparently in the hands, not of Englishmen but of aliens?" Jeanne d'Arc once said, "There is no peace, save at the lance's point"; and therefore our modern author concludes, "A saying which, like some obsolete weapon, we are disposed to hang on the walls of our peace palaces, and leave to the undoing of ourselves and of posterity." She notes that the Treaty of Versailles, by the Germans, is being adhered to, "now and again, a few of the clauses, accidentally." With a species of unhesitating mind, this "instructive" book goes on: "A theory has been put forward, and in the face of Ireland and Germany today we surely need have no hesitation in accepting it, that the countries which have never known the Roman yoke, nor the ordered freedom of the *Pax Romana,* are the countries which have never yet been civilized."

* * *

NOW this, to my robust sense of humor, seems at least a trifle to be laughed at. But even less is that portion in which the hard water of an English home is called "as hard as the heart of a conscientious objector, which in its turn is as hard as the nether millstone." This is *news;* for so many years has Eccentricus been told that his and all other pacifist hearts were degenerated mush that he has always thought of himself as far too tender. But just to put you pacifists on your mettle, I must add to this crack the recent imputations of a famous Fascist. Roberto Forges Davanzati has justified the Italian suppression of *All Quiet on the Western Front* on the ground that the banning of the film is akin to the suppression of abortion, suicide stories, and "all perversions and moral licence." In Zurich I saw the banned German version, *Im Westen Nichts Neues,* and a high official (at least, he wore more gold braid than the average hotel porter) told me that the Germans who could get the price were flocking over the border in large numbers to see it. Germans have also been going across to Holland to see it there, but in France, as *A L'Ouest Rien Que Nouvelles,* probably because every Frenchman thoroughly accepts *German* militarism as an axiom, it has seemed from a sidewalk judgment that the crowds were passing it up for *The King of Soccer,* Douglas Fairbanks in *Robin Hood,* Marilyn Miller in *Sally,* or the French film, *Barcarolle of Love.*

Hard-heartedly I declare that we most need a film to show off the truth about the entrance of *our* country into the war. As the American woman who became enthusiastic over the League of Nations, when on a visit to Geneva, is credibly reported to have said, "This is a splendid thing! Why don't we have one in the U. S. A.?"

* * *

IN Switzerland, a most unkind country where they begin a sentence in German, end it in French, and garnish it with pidgin English, Eccentricus developed a persistent habit or ordering something in German, thanking them for it in English and paying for it in French—a custom which, in view of the differing values of Swiss and French francs, caused no end of embarrassment. In Lucerne, where he fell continually by a too-rapid descent from high-German to low-Tourist, he asked three times the way to a certain street. Each time the directions, given explicitly, and followed with equal circumspection, led in a vast circle to a blind alley which returned him back to the feet of the traffic autocrat. Finally, giving over all attempts to rely on anything but native sagacity, plain eyesight, and a city map, Eccentricus hopped a street car and after a ten-minute ride alighted precisely at his destination.

ECCENTRICUS

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